



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

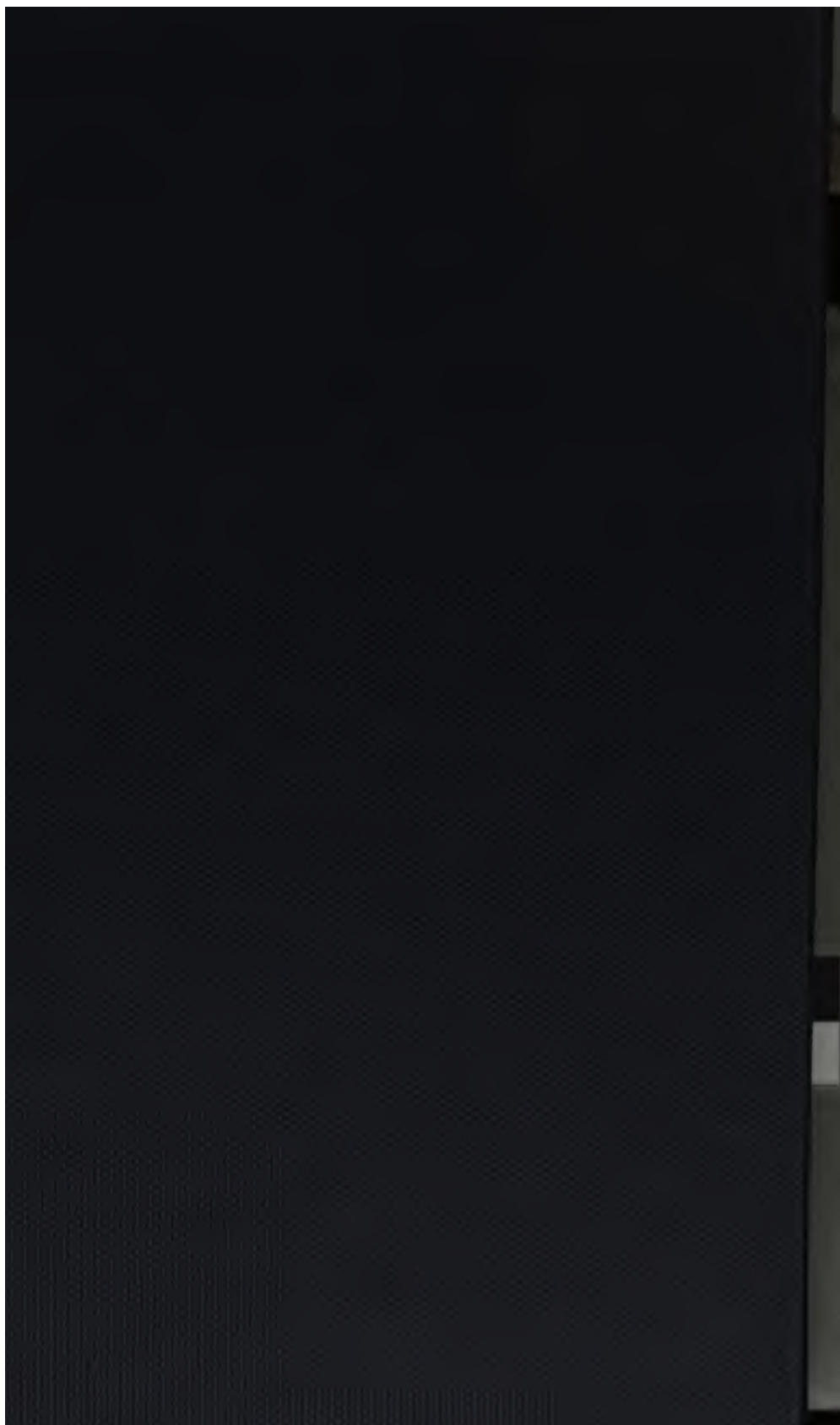
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

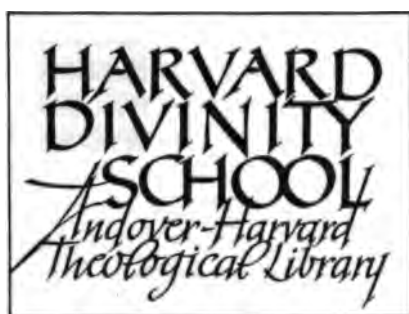
We also ask that you:

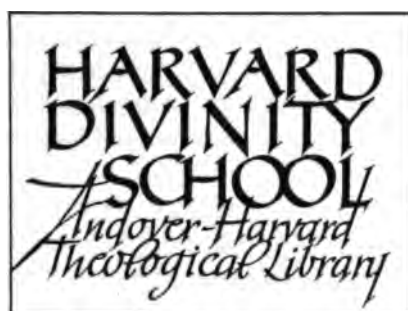
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

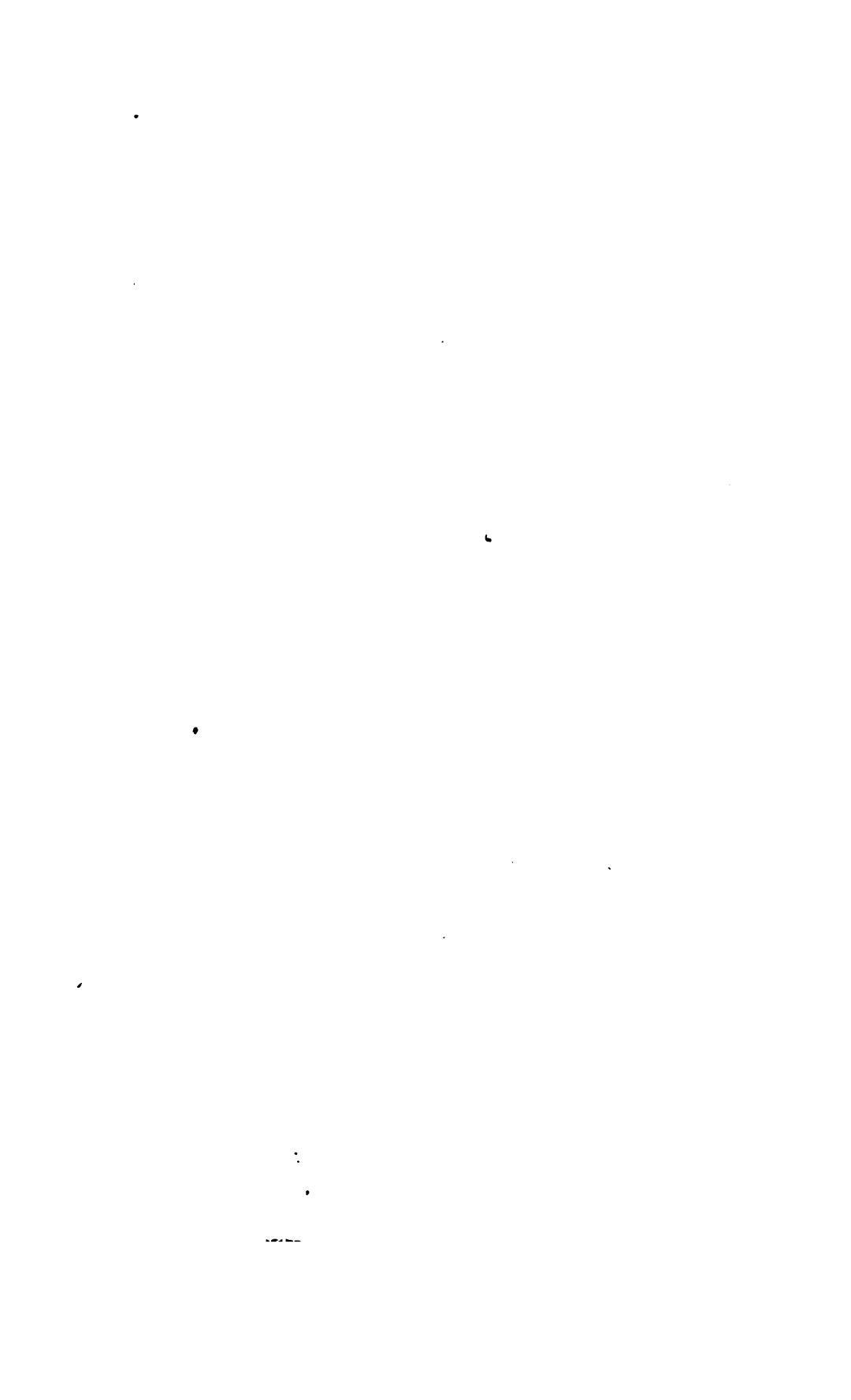






1640
180-2

THE DOCUMENTS OF
THE HEXATEUCH



©
Bible, O.T. Hexateuch. English. A.D. 12.

THE DOCUMENTS OF
THE HEXATEUCH

TRANSLATED AND ARRANGED
IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

William
By W. E. ADDIS, M.A.
OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

PART I.

The Oldest Book of Hebrew History

©
NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

LONDON: D. NUTT

1893

1892, Dec. 14.
Dunsmuir School.

BS
1213
.A5
1893
v.1

TO
THOMAS GRAVES LAW
OF THE SIGNET LIBRARY
IN HAPPY MEMORY OF
HIS LONG AND GENEROUS
FRIENDSHIP



P R E F A C E

A NEW book on the well-worn subject of the Hexateuch needs justification, and perhaps my best course will be to explain the motives which led me to undertake my present task. In German and Dutch we have an abundance, indeed a superabundance, of works on the criticism of the Hexateuch, and the best results of recent inquiry are set before the English student in Mr. Wicksteed's excellent translation of Kuenen's masterly work. It seemed to me, however, that a book like Kuenen's, which is the best of its kind, could only appeal to a very limited circle of readers. At least I found that I had constantly to spend many hours over a single page. Each note is crowded with references, and till the reader has made himself familiar with them, and weighed the evidence which they give, he cannot follow Kuenen's clear and consecutive argument. Moreover, just because the argument is consecutive, he must burden his memory with a mass of facts and of inferences already established : otherwise he is not prepared to take the succeeding step. Manifestly it is only scholars with time at their command who can give themselves to such a course of study.

The burden of toil is aggravated if we proceed to compare the conclusions presented by Kuenen with those of other critics. Probably most students find themselves compelled to underline the text of the Hexateuch with various colours, indicating the different documents from which the Hexateuch has been compiled. In this way they are enabled to take a general view of the ground, and to see how it lies, to compare, to test and amend, the results of criticism. A good many years ago, before Kuenen's book had appeared, I had for my own guidance marked an unpointed Hebrew text in the manner indicated above, and as time went on I added notes and corrections. Out of this first attempt the book now offered to the public grew.

It seemed to me that the separation of the Hexateuch into its component documents would justify itself if these documents were printed separately. Of course, for the settlement of many points the reader must go to the more elaborate investigations of Old Testament critics. Nevertheless, the main division of the documents only needs presentation to become self-evident. Moreover, even when we have been thoroughly convinced that the methods of modern criticism are sound, we shall, I think, experience something akin to surprise at the striking manner in which the results of this criticism stand out clear and consistent, when exhibited as a whole and set before the eye. I also hope that the theologian and the student of history will find it convenient to have the documents apart and be able to consult them readily. For the time is past when we can speak of the theological

and historical ideas contained in the Pentateuch or in the book of Joshua. A wide gulf of time and of the changes time brings, separates the Jahvist from the Deuteronomist, the Deuteronomist from the 'Priestly Writer.' Such is the main purpose of my work. Despite its manifold imperfections, it will, I hope, serve some useful purpose. I have had no predecessors in the same field. We have several translations of the documents in Genesis, and one of these is carefully and skilfully done, but no one, so far as I know, has extended his labours to the whole of the Hexateuch.

The plan followed is meant to distinguish between that which is certain and admitted on the one hand—that which is, and to some extent perhaps always will be, disputable, on the other. Thus, it is often hard to distinguish the Jahvist from the Elohist. But we very rarely find any difficulty in distinguishing the Jahvist and Elohist, considered as a unity, from the other documents. It is admitted that the Jahvist and Elohist are closely allied in thought and language; and, though not universally admitted, it can, I think, be shown that they were combined in one book before they were united with the other documents of the Hexateuch. Accordingly, I have endeavoured to reproduce this book. I have called it 'The Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' *i.e.* the oldest relatively to the rest of the Hexateuch, and I have not attempted to distinguish the Jahvist from the Elohist, except in cases where the evidence appeared to be strong. The introduction explains the steady and orderly progress of criticism, and fixes the attention of the reader on

the results attained and the points which are still in debate. The notes accent the distinguishing marks of the documents, and afford some imperfect illustration of their religious attitude and their historical data. In translating, it has been my habit to make my own translation of each verse, and then to adapt it as closely as I could to that of the Revised English Version. If the opportunity be afforded me, I hope to complete the documents of the Hexateuch in another volume. The main difficulties are now over, for the disputes on the text of the other documents are few and unimportant, at least by comparison.

Sometimes I have had to tread on dangerous ground, and I have not concealed my agreement with the school of Graf and his eminent disciples, on the whole. At the same time, if I have failed to give the arguments on the other side the weight which is their due, that has arisen from want of power, not from lack of will. I am unable to follow Dillmann's conclusions, but I have read and re-read his great commentary on the Hexateuch, and always with increasing admiration for its profound and varied learning and its astonishing accuracy.

It only remains to thank the friends upon whose counsel and kind encouragement I could always rely. I may be permitted to mention in particular Sir George Grove, who is so well known to all lovers of the Bible by his articles in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*. Mr. Haas, of the firm of David Nutt, has softened the pains of exile by supplying me with the Old Testament literature of the Continent. To the friend whose name stands in the Dedication I owe my first knowledge of the subject, my

first real interest in the Bible ; and the trouble he has taken in arranging for the publication and correcting the proofs is but one of many benefits continued through a long course of years.

W. E. ADDIS.

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA,

September 1891.

The following list of the chief works which I have used is appended for the convenience of the reader.

FOR the Hebrew text and ancient versions.—The ordinary Hebrew Bible of Van der Hooght, with the text in Stier and Theile's *Polyglotten-Bibel*, which is based on the fourth stereotyped edition of the Hebrew text as given by Hahn. In Genesis I was able to use the critical edition of Baer (1869). For the various readings (seldom of much value) I have consulted Kennicott's *Hebrew Bible* (1776), and De Rossi's *Variae lectiones* (1784 *seq.*). For the Samaritan copy of the Hebrew text I have used Kennicott's *Hebrew Bible*. The Septuagint has been read in the edition of Swete (Cambridge, 1887); the Peshitto (usually quoted as 'Syr.') in the edition revised by Dr. Lee for the Bible Society; the Targum of Onkelos in the edition of Berliner (1884); the Jerusalem Targums in the text of the London Polyglott; the Latin Vulgate in the text of Stier and Theile; the Arabic version of Saadia Gaon in the London Polyglott; the fragments of Greek versions other than the LXX. in Field's *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt* (1875). Add Geiger's *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen* (1857). Of commentaries, I have read Keil on the Pentateuch and Joshua, Knobel and Kalisch on the same books; Tuch on Genesis, in the edition of Merx (1871); Delitzsch on Genesis (fifth edition, 1887); Spurrell on Genesis (1887). But I have been chiefly indebted to the commentary of Dillmann on the Hexateuch (Genesis, in the fifth edition, 1886). Dillmann's great work really supersedes all others.¹

¹ Where reference has been made to Rabbinical commentators, I have used Berliner's edition of Rashi (1866), and the texts as given in Buxtorf's *Rabbinical Bible*.

For the general criticism of the Hexateuch I have used the introductions of Eichhorn (fourth edition, 1823); De Wette (edited by Schrader, 1869); Bleek (edited by Wellhausen; fifth edition, 1886); Strack (1888); Riehm (1889): also Colenso on the *Pentateuch* (1862-1879), Graf, *Geschichtliche Bücher des A.T.* (1866); Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A.T.* (1869); Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs* (1885); Kuenen, *Onderzoek* (in the second edition of 1885, which is really a new book); Robertson Smith, *O.T. in the Jewish Church* (1881); Reuss, *Geschichte d. heil. Schrift d. A.T.* (second edition, 1890); Dillmann's essay in the last volume of his commentary of the Hexateuch (second edition, 1886); Delitzsch's Critical Studies on the five books of Moses;¹ the introduction to Kittel's *Geschichte der Hebräer* (1888); and Stade's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1887-8). Great use has been made of a long series of essays on the criticism of the Hexateuch, published by Kuenen in the Leiden *Theologisch Tijdschrift* (beginning in vol. xi. 1877), and of many articles of distinguished scholars in the *Zeitschrift für A.T. Wissenschaft* (1881, and still in progress).

The language of the 'Priestly Document,' as a criterion of its age, has been specially examined by Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone* (1878); by Giesebrecht in *Z.A.T.W.* for 1881; and by Professor Driver (in the *Journal of Philology*, No. xxii.).

For particular portions of the Hexateuch I have had the help of Ilgen, *Urkunden des ersten Buchs von Moses* (1798); Ewald, *Composition der Genesis* (1823); Bertheau, *Sieben Gruppen mosaischer Gesetze* (1840); Hupfeld, *Quellen der Genesis* (1853); Riehm, *Gesetzgebung im Lande Moab* (1854); Kayser, *Das vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israels* (1874), Albers, *Quellenberichte* in Joshua i.-xii. (1891); Budde, *Biblische Urgeschichte* (1883); and Richter und Samuel (1890, containing an investigation of the Jahvist document in Joshua).

The history of Hebrew religion has been treated, in connection with the documents of the Hexateuch, and the questions which they raise, by Vatke, *Religion des A.T.* (1835); George, *Die älteren jüdischen Feste* (1835); Kuenen, *Godsdienst van Israel* (1869); König, *Hauptprobleme der altisraelitischen Religion* (1884); Baudissin, *Geschichte des A.T. Priesterthums* (1889).

¹ They appeared in Luthard's *Zeitschrift* (1880), but are only available to me through the Dutch translation (1883).

Use has been made in dealing with the connection between the religion and history of Israel and those of foreign nations, specially the Egyptians and Assyrians, chiefly of such works as Smith's *Chaldean Genesis*, with the notes and additions of Frederic Delitzsch (1876); Ebers' *Ägypten und die Bücher Mosis*, Baudissin's *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* (1876), Robertson Smith's lectures on *The Religion of the Semites* (1889), Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O. T.* (English translation by Whitehouse, 1885), Bähgen's *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* (1888), many articles in Riehm's *Biblisches Handwörterbuch* (1884), and various parts of the *Records of the Past* (1873, second series now in progress). Brugsch's *Steinschrift und Bibelwort* (1891) came to hand too late for use in this part.

Of course use has been made of many other works on Oriental history besides commentaries on other parts of the Old Testament and Biblical theologies, a list of which need not be given here. Works like Smend on Ezekiel, or again Duhm's *Theologie der Propheten* may be said to deal directly with the criticism of the Hexateuch.

I have passed over books like the *History of Israel* by Seinecke and that by Renan, because they do not, so far as I can judge, really help the progress of criticism. Their views, when original, are purely fantastic, and the same may be said of essays by Havet and Maurice Vernes.

To the translation of Genesis by Kautzsch and Socin, who distinguish the documents by variety of type, my obligations are very great. The only other work of the same kind which I have used is that of Lenormant (English translation, 1886), but it is of little value.

In references to foreign works of which an English translation has appeared, I have consulted the convenience of the English student by referring to the chapters, etc., not to the pages. For the dates of Hebrew history I have taken advantage of the chronological table in the second volume of Kuenen's *Onderzoek* (new edition, 1889).

I defer the mention of other books, because, though they have been used incidentally already, their names will be given with greater fitness in the second part of this work.

P.S.—Since these pages were in type three important

works have reached me, viz.:—Dr. Driver's *Introduction to the O. T.*, Cornill's *Einleitung in das A. T.*, and the *German Translation of the O. T.*, with marks in the margin to distinguish the documents of the Hexateuch by Kautzsch and a committee of other scholars. My regret that I did not receive these works in time for use is outweighed by the solid satisfaction of finding my conclusions confirmed by these great and independent authorities. I never for a moment doubted that the principles followed in this little work are sound and sure. Still the uniform agreement between Kautzsch's edition of the Hexateuch documents and my own on all important points, the constant agreement even in minute detail, has, I own, surprised and delighted me.

I hope to issue Part II., which will complete the whole work, early next year; meantime let the reader observe that the most difficult and important division of the labour is already before him. The 'Oldest Book' is a composite work, in which it is a difficult and often hopeless task to disentangle the Jahvist and Elohist documents. The Deuteronomical code and narratives are written in a style comparatively uniform. About the Priestly history and code there is little room for divergence of opinion. They stand out clear, consistent, uniform in style, complete. No man who sees the results can doubt that he is dealing with an independent document.

MELBOURNE, *June* 1892.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE,	iii
INTRODUCTION,	xiii-xciv
I. THE HISTORY OF OPINION ON THE ORIGIN AND DATE	
OF THE HEXATEUCH,	xiii
§ 1 What the Hexateuch says of itself,	xv
§ 2. Pre-critical Opinion,	xvii
§ 3. Critical Investigation—	
(a) The Severance of the Documents,	xx
(b) The Date of the Documents and of the Hexateuch as a whole,	xxxiv ✓
II. POSITIVE RESULTS AND THE REASONS FOR THEM	
§ 1. The Hexateuch is composed of several Documents,	xlii
§ 2. Contents and Characteristics of the Documents—	
(a) The Oldest Book of Hebrew History,	lii
(b) The Deuteronomical Code and the Deuteronomical Historians,	lvii
(c) The Priestly Writer,	lxvi

	PAGE
§ 3. The Date of the Documents,	
(a) The Deuteronomical Code first written about the eighteenth year of Josiah, <i>i.e.</i> about 621 B.C.,	lxxiv
(b) The Date of the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,'	lxxix
(c) The Date of the 'Priestly Writer,'	lxxxii
(d) The Final Redaction of the Pentateuch, . .	xcii
THE TEXT OF THE 'OLDEST BOOK OF HEBREW HISTORY,'	1-235

INTRODUCTION TO THE DOCUMENTS OF THE HEXATEUCH.

I.—THE HISTORY OF OPINION ON THE ORIGIN AND DATE OF THE HEXATEUCH.

The word Pentateuch (ἡ πεντάτευχος βίβλος) means literally 'the book in five volumes.' It is the title given to the first five books of the Hebrew Bible. It was adopted by the Jews who spoke Greek, and passed from them first to the Greek, and then to the Latin Christians. It corresponds to the name current among the Jews who continued to read their Scriptures in the original Hebrew, viz., 'The five fifths of the law.' The name Pentateuch implies two things, first, that the writings so called contain a connected history, beginning with the creation of the world and ending with the death of Moses: secondly, that the history falls into five divisions, generally known among Christians by the names which they bear in the Greek translation, viz., Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and among Jews by the Hebrew words with which each separate book opens. We cannot say for certain when first these books were regarded as a whole divided into five parts. The division was known to Josephus (born 37 or 38 A.D.), but is probably much older than his time. The principle of the division is natural and obvious: it seems to have served as a model to the unknown scribe who completed the collection of Psalms, which are also divided into five books, and it is quite possible that the arrangement in five books dates from the time when the final editor united the various documents of which the Pentateuch is composed into one, and so

gave to the text that form which it has retained substantially ever since.

Nevertheless, it is necessary for critical purposes to speak, not of the Pentateuch, but of the Hexateuch—*i.e.* not of the five, but of the six books. The reason is that a critic cannot investigate the origin of the Pentateuch apart from that of the book of Joshua. It will be shown afterwards that the Pentateuch consists of several documents originally independent of each other, but finally, with various omissions, additions, and alterations, pieced together so as to form one continuous history. Now, it has long been seen, and the fact is acknowledged by all who admit the composite character of the Pentateuch, that these primary documents did not close with the death of Moses. They related the conquest of Canaan and the settlement of the Israelites in the territory west of the Jordan. We are able to distinguish the documents of the Pentateuch by divergences of vocabulary and literary style, by their different and frequently contradictory views of history and religion, by the fact that we find the same statement made or the same story told twice over; and are therefore driven to the inference that we are dealing with more than one narrator, and that the superficial appearance of unity is fallacious. Precisely the same phenomena recur in the book of Joshua. Not only so; when we have separated and studied the documents in the Pentateuch, we become familiar with their peculiarities of thought and style. These same peculiarities are continued in Joshua: there are, moreover, verses in Joshua which are scarcely intelligible without verses in Genesis, and verses in Genesis which are incomplete without verses in Joshua. Hence we are obliged to extend our inquiries, and to speak, not of the Pentateuch, but of the Hexateuch. It is the object of this Introduction to point out the way in which we can distinguish the various documents out of which this Hexateuch has arisen and can determine with more or less probability their relations, their origin, and their dates. It will be best to begin by tracing the history of opinion.

§ 1.—WHAT THE HEXATEUCH SAYS OF ITSELF.

First, with regard to the Pentateuch. It nowhere claims either directly or indirectly to be the work of Moses. In *Exod.* xvii. 14, Moses is told to write an account of the war with Amalek 'in a book,'¹ but not the least hint is given that this book is the book of the law. In *Exod.* xxi., xxii., xxiii., we have a little code consisting of 'judgments' or legal enactments given to Moses by God. Moses writes these in a book called 'the book of the covenant' (*Exod.* xxiv. 7); but it need scarcely be said that this book cannot by any possibility be identified with our present Pentateuch. Similarly, in *Exod.* xxxiv. 27, Moses is directed to write certain 'words' contained in the same chapter, and which were the basis of a covenant between Yahweh and Israel. Again, in *Num.* xxxiii. 2, the writing of a list of stations in Israel's march from Egypt to Canaan is ascribed to Moses. Finally, the code which forms the central part of the book of Deuteronomy was given by Yahweh to Moses; and accordingly we read in *Deut.* xxxi. 9, that 'Moses wrote the words of this law, and gave it to the priests the sons of Levi,' and to the elders. Every seventh year, at the Feast of Tabernacles, this law was to be read before the people. Here Moses is said to have written the Deuteronomical code, neither more nor less. So much is plain, not only because Deuteronomy habitually describes itself as 'the words of this law written in this book' (*xxviii.* 58), 'the book of this law' (*xxviii.* 61, *xxix.* 20), 'this book' (*xxix.* 19, 26), 'this book of the law' (*xxx* 10); but also because Moses, in *xxvii.* 1, 3, identifies 'this law' with 'the commandment which I command you this day.' The law, therefore, which Moses is said to have written in a book cannot include the legislation contained in

¹ 'In a book.' The translation 'in the book' implies a misunderstanding of a common Hebrew idiom. Cf. *1 Sam.* x. 25; *Jer.* xxxii. 10; *Jub.* xix. 23.

Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, and given at Sinai nearly forty years before. Nay, in xxviii. 69, 'the words of the covenant' made in the land of Moab, *i.e.* the Deuteronomical code, are expressly distinguished from the covenant made at Horeb. It follows that a very small part of the Pentateuch claims to have been written by Moses. It is only two or three chapters in Exodus, a chapter in Numbers, and the legislative portion of Deuteronomy of which, according to the Pentateuch itself, Moses is the author. Besides this, we are told that the decalogue was written by God during the lifetime of Moses on tables of stone. But the witness of the Pentateuch concerning itself is not purely negative. The fact that the portions which Moses did write are carefully noted creates a strong presumption that he was not regarded as the author of the whole Pentateuch. Moreover, the references to Moses in the Pentateuch never imply that he himself was the writer, but, on the contrary, are most unnatural on any such theory. (See Exod. vi. 26, 27, xi. 3 ; Num. xii. 3.)

The book of Joshua is strictly anonymous. From first to last it gives no hint that it was written either by Joshua or by any other witness of the events recorded. True, in v. 1. the Hebrew text runs thus : 'Yahweh had dried up the waters of Jordan, until we were passed over.' Here, however, the margin of the Hebrew text has preserved another reading, viz. 'until they were passed over.' This second reading is adopted by all the ancient versions, and seems to have been the only one known at the time they were made.¹ In xxiv. 26, Joshua is said to have written the words of a speech which he addressed to the children of Israel 'in the book of the law of God.' We cannot tell what is meant by this 'book of the law.' The reference may be to some code of law now lost, or to the Deuteronomical code to which

¹ Even if the alternative reading of the Hebrew text be retained, it need not imply the authorship of a contemporary. The writer, whenever he lived, might very well think of himself as one with the Israel of the past, just as an Englishman of to-day might speak of 'our deliverance from the Spanish Armada,' 'our glorious revolution,' etc.

part of our book of Joshua may have been added as an appendix. In any case the writer of the words in question cannot have called the book of Joshua, which is historical and not legal, 'the book of the law,' and the passage says nothing at all about the origin of that book.

§ II.—PRE-CRITICAL OPINION.

We have seen that the authorship of the Deuteronomical code is ascribed in the code itself to Moses. When, however, the five books of the Pentateuch were bound into one, and the whole compilation was called 'the law' because the legal enactments formed its more important part, it was very natural that the passages in Deuteronomy should be misunderstood and taken to mean that Moses wrote the whole law, *i.e.* the entire Pentateuch.¹ And this, in fact, was for many centuries the accepted and almost unquestioned opinion among Jews and Samaritans, Christians and Mohammedans. It is the view taken for granted by the writers of the New Testament on the one hand, on the other by the Jewish writers Philo and Josephus, and by the Talmud. Thus the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, fol. 14^b, quoted by Bleek) states that Moses wrote 'his book,' *i.e.* the Pentateuch, except eight verses, *viz.*, the last eight verses in Deuteronomy, which contain the account of his death and burial. There were, moreover, distinguished writers who were not disposed to make even this exception. Philo (*de Vit. Moys.* iii. 39) and Josephus (*Antiq.* iv. 9) maintain that Moses wrote the account of his own death in the spirit of prophecy. Among the Christian Fathers, Origen (*c. Cels.* ii. 54) does not shrink from this extreme consequence,

¹ Josephus (*Antiq.* iv. 8, 12) seems to have understood the words 'this law,' etc., in Deuteronomy, as including the whole Pentateuch. But the *Mishnah* and *Sifre* (a rabbinical commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy ascribed by Weber to the third century A.D.) still take the words in their proper and limited sense. For references see Kuenen (*Onders.* i. § 2, 6).

and it is represented, like the more moderate view mentioned above, in the Talmud. Not a letter, we are told, was lacking in the book of the law which Moses gave to the priests. 'As far as the word "died" [in Deut. xxxiv. 5] the holy one, blessed be he, had uttered the words first, and Moses repeated them after him and wrote them; but from this word "died" [to the end of Deuteronomy] the holy one spoke and Moses wrote weeping.' (Bathra, 15^a; Menachoth, 30^a; quoted by Delitzsch.)

During the early and middle ages there were Gnostic and Manichean sects who denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. But they were led to do so by their antipathy to the contents of the law (*e.g.* to the sacrificial precepts, the use of animal food, etc.) rather than by critical reasons.¹ Traces, but only traces, of a more rational spirit appear among the rabbinical scholars of the middle ages. In commenting on Genesis xxxvi. 31, 'These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,' Eben Ezra mentions a certain Isaac, meaning, apparently, Isaac ben Jasus, a rabbi of the eleventh century. This Isaac held that the section which contains the list of Edomite kings must have been written as late as the time of King Jehoshaphat. Eben Ezra (died 1167) rejects this view with scorn and horror. Yet he himself evidently

¹ Ptolemy, a Valentinian Gnostic of the second century, maintained that the Mosaic law had been interpreted by 'the elders' (*Ep. ad Flor. apud Epiphan. Haer. xxxiii. 4*). So an ascetic sect called Nazaraei rejected part of the Pentateuch because they would not believe that the patriarchs had sacrificed and eaten flesh (Epiphan. *Haer. xviii.*, Joann. Damasc. 1, xix.). Late in the middle ages the Bogomili held that the Pentateuch was inspired by Satan; they may, however, have believed that it was the authentic work of Moses. The Clementine *Homilies*, which are generally assigned to the latter part of the second century A.D., represent a kindred view. They assert that the law attributed to Moses was written against his will; they add, however, the objection from common sense that Moses cannot have written the account of his own death (*Hom. iii. 47*). Still, the heretics on the whole rejected the Pentateuch, or parts of it, on purely uncritical grounds. The judgment of the Emperor Julian is more sober. He affirmed that the Pentateuch was chiefly the work of Moses, but that 'Ezra had added some things out of his own head' (*Cyrl. Alex. quoted by Delitzsch, Gen. p. 15*).

felt misgiving about the Mosaic authorship of certain verses in the Pentateuch besides the last eight verses of Deuteronomy. He hints at doubts about the Mosaic authorship of xii. 6, xxii. 14, Deut. i. 1, iii. 11, and the whole of xxxiv. He also makes it quite plain why he does not express himself more decidedly. Writing on the text Gen. xii. 6, 'The Canaanite was then in the land,' he says, 'The meaning may be that the Canaanites took the land of Canaan from others [viz, the aborigines], and if that be not the sense, there is a mystery in the words, and the prudent man will be silent.' He expresses himself with more freedom when he comes to the words, 'beyond Jordan' (Deut. i. 1), which seem to imply that the writer lived to the west of Jordan and could not, therefore, be Moses. Here Eben Ezra repeats the passages given above (Gen. xii. 6, etc.) adding that if the reader understands them he will 'understand the truth.'

Some advance was made at the time of the Reformation. Carlstadt, Luther's contemporary, speaks of the opinion that 'Moses did not write the Pentateuch' as at least defensible. Masius, a learned Catholic who died in 1573 after writing an excellent commentary on Joshua, was of opinion that Ezra or some other inspired man must have reduced the Pentateuch to its present form.¹ The Pentateuch, says Hobbes (*Leviathan*, c. 33), seems rather to be 'about Moses than by Moses, though Moses may have written the "book of the law,"' i.e. Deut. xi.-xxvii. In 1670 Spinoza, who refers to Eben Ezra in his *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*, examines much more fully than his predecessors the passages in the Pentateuch which are incompatible with Mosaic authorship. His own theory is that the five books were written by Ezra, but that the text had been much corrupted after his death. A few years later the French Oratorian, Simon, published his critical history of the Old Testament. In

¹ Carlstadt and Masius are only known to me by the quotations in modern authors. Strack refers to Carlstadt, *Libellus de Canon. Scriptur.* § 85, in the Wittenberg edition of 1520, and to the commentary of Masius on Joshua, *Præf.*, and on Josh. xix. 47 in the edition of 1574.

one sense Simon is far less bold than Spinoza. He does not impugn the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as a whole, though he admits that particular verses must be of much later date. He prefers, with the Jesuit Bonfrère, to think that additions have been made, rather than to be 'always passing off Moses as a prophet.' But the point to be observed is that Simon, unlike Spinoza, shows a genuine faculty for criticism. He refers to the endless repetitions of the same thing in different words, to the fact that Genesis gives two independent accounts of the creation and mingles together two stories of the flood. He argues from difference of style to difference of authors. In fact, Simon is rightly called the father of Old Testament criticism, and in him we see the pre-critical passing into the critical stage of opinion on the Hexateuch.¹

§ III.—CRITICAL INVESTIGATION.

(a) *The Severance of the Documents.*

The criticism of the Hexateuch in the strict sense of the word began with Astruc, a French physician, whose memorable book (*Conjectures sur les Mémoires originaux dont il paroît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse*) was published at Brussels in 1753. A new epoch began with Astruc, because he pointed to a mark, definite and easily recognised, by which the documents of Genesis could be separated from each other and assigned to different authors. Simon, as we have seen, called attention to the fact that we have two distinct accounts of the creation. The one extends from Genesis i. 1 to ii. 4^a: the second begins at ii. 4^b, and reaches to the end of chapter iii. Each account is complete in itself: each differs from the other in religious spirit and on matter of fact. In the former account,

¹ Simon, *Hist. Critique du Vieux Testament*, 1680, bk. i. ch. v.-vii.

for example, man's creation comes last, in the latter it comes first; in the latter the woman is created from the man's rib, in the former 'male and female' are created together. It is simply inconceivable that one and the same author wrote two complete accounts of the same thing in the same book, placing the one immediately after the other: much less could he have written two contradictory accounts, and set them side by side. But Astruc's point was that the author of the former account always speaks of Elohim (God), the latter just as persistently uses the personal or proper name Yahweh, or at least Yahweh Elohim. Hence Astruc distinguished two documents, one Jahvistic, and another to which we shall give no name for the present, but which uses the word Elohim. The investigations of Astruc were continued in 1779 by Eichhorn, a dry German rationalist, a man of acute mind and an Oriental scholar of great learning. He confirmed Astruc's conclusion, by showing that the use of Elohim on the one hand or of Yahweh on the other was accompanied by other divergencies in the use of words. Take the two accounts of the creation already mentioned. The author who speaks of Elohim says that God 'created' (ברא), he speaks of 'beasts of the earth,' whereas the Jahvist uses the words 'made' or 'formed' (יצר. עשה), 'beast of the field,' 'plant of the field.' Eichhorn made a list of the words peculiar to the Jahvist and to the other author who uses the word Elohim, and divided Genesis and the two first chapters of Exodus between the two documents. Thus he supplied a sound basis for investigation.¹ Were we limited to the distinguishing marks supplied by the words Elohim and Yahweh, mistakes must needs arise. In the section where neither name occurs we should be left without help. Next, there are occasions in which the Jahvist himself has to use the word Elohim. He does so in the dialogue between Eve and the

¹ Eichhorn published the first edition of his 'Introduction' in 1779. He lived to publish a fourth edition in 1823. It is this last edition which has been used for the sketch of Eichhorn's view of the Pentateuch given above. But his theory seems to have remained the same in substance.

serpent. Why? Because Yahweh was a proper name which the Israelites gave to their own God. Its use, therefore, would have been out of place in conversation with those who were not worshippers of Yahweh or where the matter turned, not on the qualities of Yahweh as a particular person, but upon the divine nature as such. Thirdly, a copyist might by a very natural inadvertence substitute one name for the other. Indeed, differences in this point occur not infrequently between the Masoretic or received Hebrew text, the Samaritan copy of the same text, and the ancient versions, chiefly the Greek version known as the Septuagint, and the Peshitto or old Syriac version. Hence the capital importance of the fact that there are abundant marks of difference between the two documents with which we are concerned, and each chapter, when once its authorship is fixed, supplies us with new marks; though, of course, great caution is required. It is only when we find the Jahvist and his companion author using different words for the same thing that we can safely add to the stock of words which we take as distinguishing marks. Besides these tokens derived from style and language, there are others, of which a specimen has been given already, which depend on the different views of religion and of fact which belong to each writer. It may be well to add here that the writer, who throughout Genesis and in the first chapters of Exodus refrains from using the name Yahweh, does so not by accident but of set purpose. This scarcely needs proof, but decisive proof is to be had. For in Exod. vi. 2, 3, he writes thus: 'God spoke to Moses and said to him, "I am Yahweh, and I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob as El Shaddai, but by my name Yahweh I did not make myself known to them." Surely this passage demonstrates that it is an altogether different writer who makes Eve exclaim, 'I have gotten a man from Yahweh,' who represents the public worship of Yahweh as beginning in the time of Enosh, Adam's grandson (Gen. iv. 25), who puts the name Yahweh in the mouths of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (e.g. Gen. xxiv. 3, xxvi. 22, xlix. 18), who represents

God as saying to Jacob, 'I am Yahweh, the God of thy father Abraham and the God of Isaac' (Gen. xxviii. 13).

The attempt to sever the documents of which the Hexateuch is composed began with Astruc and Eichhorn, and is continued with unabated ardour at the present day. A great number of scholars have been employed upon it, and theory has succeeded theory. In one sense it is quite true that no one of these theories has held its ground; there is still serious dispute: it is easy to exhibit the contradictions between the hypotheses which have replaced each other and to produce the impression that critics have set themselves an impossible task, so that the last theory is as worthless and unstable as the last fashion. Nothing, however, could be more false than such a view. We only need some real knowledge of the course which criticism has followed to perceive that the genuine knowledge of the documents which compose the Hexateuch has been gaining ground step by step. More than this, there has been an amazing growth of unanimity among critics—a fact to be carefully noticed, for German critics (and most of the critics have been Germans) are far more apt to differ than to agree without sufficient reason. It is indeed misleading to speak of one theory as succeeding another. Among the multitude of writers who have taken the matter in hand a certain allowance must be made here, as in every other subject-matter, for mere extravagance which has perished in the birth, or which has had its day and been forgotten. Nevertheless, we constantly find that succeeding theories are but the expansion and modifications of theories which went before. A theory is an attempt to account for known facts, and a satisfactory theory does so account for them. If, then, new facts come to light, the theory must undergo change. The solution which it gave was true so far, but it must be expanded to meet the new facts. It may seem strange that new facts can appear in writings which have been before the world for thousands of years. But it must be remembered that till times comparatively recent the books of the Bible were regarded as sacred, and were withdrawn from free and

rational investigation. Moreover, historical criticism in general is of comparatively recent date. What new light has been thrown, e.g., on Roman history by Niebuhr and his successors! Once more, the real investigation of the phenomena presented by any set of ancient documents is a work which needs time and the labour of many competent scholars. We shall see that the work is very far from being ended now. Meantime, returning to the point from which we digressed, I shall try to make it plain that the investigation of the Hexateuch has been fruitful in assured results. It has been continued without intermission for more than a century. A multitude of important points has been established one by one, and never abandoned since. Each point has been established by a critic who called attention to facts of language or historical contents which had been passed over previously, or at least not seen in their full significance. In the list which follows, strictly chronological order has been abandoned for the sake of clearness. This defect is compensated for in some degree by the dates appended in brackets.

In the early years of the century De Wette in a special dissertation (1805), and in his *Contributions to Old Testament Introduction* (1806), pointed out the peculiar style and character of Deuteronomy, and proved that it must be considered apart from the rest of the Pentateuch.¹

In 1822 Bleek² showed that the book of Joshua is the natural continuation of the history which begins in Genesis. The death of Moses, as he says, marks, no doubt, an epoch in the history, but cannot be regarded as its close. For Genesis looks forward to the settlement of Abraham's descendants in the land

¹ De Wette's *Introduction to the Old Testament* appeared in 1817. An eighth edition, revised by Schrader, was published in 1869.

² Bleek's *Introduction to the Old Testament* was revised by Wellhausen, and published as a fourth, and then in 1886 as a fifth, edition of the original work. As early as 1792, Geddes wrote in the preface to his *Holy Bible, Translated with Critical Remarks*: 'To the Pentateuch I have joined the book of Joshua, because I conceive it to have been compiled by the same author' (vol. i. p. xxi).

of Canaan, whereas at the end of Deuteronomy, when Moses dies, only two and a half of the tribes have got fixed abodes, and these are to the east of the Jordan, not in Canaan proper. This becomes still more evident, if we remember, *e.g.*, that Joseph, in Gen. i. 25, makes the children of Israel swear that they will 'carry up his bones from hence,' *i.e.* from Egypt to Canaan; that in Exod. xiii. 19 Moses does take Joseph's bones with him; and that in Josh. xxiv. 32 we learn that these bones were actually buried at Shechem, in 'the parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor the father of Shechem for a hundred kesitahs.' The words just quoted are an obvious reference to, and verbal repetition of, Gen. xxxiii. 19. This, however, is but one sample of the evidence. The real strength of that evidence depends on the fact that the documents found in the Pentateuch recur in Joshua with the same peculiarities of thought and style, each document displaying the same consistency with itself, the same divergence from the other documents with which it has been united. But this evidence could not be given here without undue anticipation.

The Hexateuch, then—*i.e.* the Pentateuch and Joshua, not the Pentateuch alone—was to be henceforth the field of investigation. And here Deuteronomy, or rather the chief part of Deuteronomy, formed a document by itself. What of the other documents? Astruc had given a mark by which at least two documents could be distinguished, viz., that of a writer who used the name Yahweh and that of a writer who down to Exod. vi. 2. used the name Elohim. It is the enduring merit of Ewald¹ that he traced the existence of these documents throughout the whole Hexateuch. With better knowledge of the single documents came better

¹ Ewald's views were, I believe, first stated in the *Studien und Kritiken* (1831). They are given at length in his *History of Israel* (vol. i.). Ewald's theory differs from the criticism of his time much more in appearance than reality. His tone is rather that of a teacher than inquirer; he introduces a good deal of fanciful and arbitrary matter, but in the main he recognises under other names the documents generally recognised when he wrote. See Merx, in his edition of Tuch's Genesis, p. cxvii *seq.*

knowledge of the Hexateuch as a whole. The discovery that the book of Genesis could not have been written by one author led to the theory that it was made up of fragments various in origin pieced together. This 'Fragment theory' was right in its affirmation of various origin: it was wrong in its denial of unity. Real unity of plan may consist with diversity of origin. The writing which uses the word Elohim down to Exod. vi. 2 has been made the basis of the Hexateuch. It is the frame into which all else has been fitted. It forms by far the greater part of the Hexateuch. Beginning with creation, it gives a short and dry history of the patriarchs, furnishing an elaborate chronology, noting the progress of revelation, and giving with great fulness the Mosaic law delivered on or beneath Mount Sinai. This unity of the Hexateuch was put prominently forward by Stähelin (1830), Ewald, and Tuch (in his edition of Genesis, 1838). Tuch called the document in question the 'Grundschrift' or 'Fundamental Writing;' Ewald called it the 'Book of Origins;' Schrader, the 'Annalistic Writer;' others 'The Elohist,' a name altered, for reasons which will appear presently, into that of the 'First Elohist;' Wellhausen, the 'Book of the Four Covenants,' because it relates the so-called covenant with Adam, the covenant with Noah, that with Abraham, and finally that with Moses, the last covenant involving an elaborate system of ritual religion. Kuenen and others have called it the 'Priestly code.' I have ventured to modify this title, and speak in this book of the 'Priestly Writer.' This name is meant to express the purpose and animating idea of the document. It, and it alone, among all Old Testament writings, gives an elaborate system of ritual legislation. According to it, Israel centres in the priesthood, the priesthood centres in the High Priest. The peculiar characteristic of this document is that it vindicates the exclusive rights of the priests who claimed descent from Aaron, and that it makes much of the High Priest, an official who is not even mentioned in the rest of the Hexateuch.

The 'Fragment Theory,' then, was gone.¹ The unity of the Hexateuch was acknowledged, and this unity was rightly placed in the position occupied by the 'Priestly Writer,' whose work stretches throughout the whole Hexateuch, giving a certain order and unity to the whole, except where that unity is broken by the intrusion of the code contained in Deuteronomy. But what was to be thought of the Jahvist? It was supposed that the Jahvist sections had been added to supplement the narrative of the 'Priestly Writer.' This view was put forward by Stähelin in 1830. It was adopted by Tuch, Bleek, Schrader, etc., who believed that the Jahvist had taken the Priestly Document in hand and had supplemented it by additions of his own. This view was known as the 'Supplement Theory' (*Ergänzungshypothese*). It held the field for a long time. In its assertion of unity which underlies the Hexateuch it is universally accepted now, and has an indestructible foundation of fact. But, so far as it saw in the

¹ The 'Fragment theory' was in some respects an advance upon Astruc and Eichhorn. It extended the investigation from Genesis and the beginning of Exodus to the whole Pentateuch, and ceased to assume that the only documents in the Pentateuch were documents used by Moses. It argued, with justice, that the Pentateuch is composed of sections, some of which had no original connection with each other, and that even the documents which use the word Elohim or Yahweh may be, and are, of various origin. It failed to see that the supposed 'fragments' might, on closer inspection, form themselves into two or three connected documents. If two maps, A and B, be cut into sections, all will appear a set of unconnected fragments so long as we compare sections of A with sections of B. Let us, however, discover that A is the map of England, and B the map of France, and then, instead of mere 'fragments,' we by dint of patience obtain two connected wholes. This illustration is, of course, far from perfect; for one great document has been made the framework of the Hexateuch, and all the documents form a unity so far as this, that all are fitted into one general plan. To this fact also the advocates of the 'Fragment' theory were blind. This theory was first put forward anonymously in Henke's Magazine (so Ewald, *Kompos d. Genesis*, p. 123): it is the theory of Geddes, and was adopted by Vater, who translated much of Geddes' work, and incorporated it in his commentary on the Pentateuch (1802-5). With Vater's name it has been chiefly connected. Ewald's early work on the *Composition of Genesis*, though it fails, as the author soon acknowledged, to prove that Genesis is the work of one author, powerfully exposes the defects of the 'Fragment' theory.

Jahvist sections mere supplements to the work of the 'Priestly Writer,' it is entirely antiquated.¹

The change was due to a brief but masterly work of Hupfeld on the *Sources of Genesis* (*Quellen der Genesis*).² It was published in 1853, and introduced a new element into the discussion. Hitherto critics had been dealing with the 'Priestly Writer' and the Jahvist. They regarded the use of the word Elohim as the primary characteristic of the 'Priestly Writer.' So it is, if we merely compare him with the Jahvist. But it is not inconceivable that two writers should have used the word Elohim instead of Yahweh, and Hupfeld demonstrated that this was the actual case. Here are one or two of the instances on which he relied. A writer who uses the word Elohim, viz., the 'Priestly Writer,' explains the origin of the name Bethel (Gen. xxxv. 9-15) by relating that on Jacob's return from Mesopotamia God appeared to him there: 'So Jacob named the place where God had spoken with him Bethel,' i.e. 'House of God.' According to another writer, who also uses the name Elohim (Gen. xxviii. 11-22), God appeared to Jacob when he was—not returning from, but—just setting out for his long stay in Mesopotamia. It was then that Jacob undertook to make the spot a 'House of God,' and hence

¹ Among living scholars Schrader still advocates a modification of the 'Supplement' theory. In his edition of De Wette's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, § 202, he maintains (1) that the 'Priestly Writer' and the Elohist wrote independent works; (2) that the Jahvist united these two documents together, adding supplementary matter of his own. Schrader, however, published the book to which we refer in 1869, and since then he has been known by his fruitful labours in Assyrian research rather than as a Biblical critic.

² Hupfeld had been to some extent anticipated long before by Ilgen in his *Urkunden d:s Ersten Buchs von Moses*, published in 1798. Ilgen's remarks are often excellent, and he treats the history of Joseph, in which Jahvist and Elohi-tic narratives are combined, with a critical insight which makes this part of his book interesting still. But his work is disfigured by bad taste, fanciful theory, and arbitrary alterations of the text, so that we cannot wonder that it fell into neglect. Hupfeld had almost forgotten its existence till his own work was nearly complete. In his preface he gives a just and generous estimate of its merits and defects.

God appearing again to the patriarch while he is still in Mesopotamia begins with the words, 'I am the God of Bethel, where thou didst anoint a pillar, where thou didst vow a vow to me' (xxx. 13). According to the 'Priestly Writer,' Jacob is sent to Mesopotamia by his father that he may take a wife there from his own kindred and not from the Canaanites. Jacob, therefore, leaves home in quite a peaceable manner (xxviii. 1-8); on his return he helps Esau to bury Isaac (xxxv. 29); afterwards Esau goes to Seir or Edom, leaving Jacob in Canaan, because Canaan does not afford pasture enough for the herds and flocks of both. Contrast with this story that told by the other writer, who also uses the word Elohim, and whom we shall now call the Elohist. He represents Jacob as fleeing to Mesopotamia at his mother's suggestion (not his father's). She sends him forth, not that he may take a wife, but that he may escape the vengeance of Esau whom he has cheated of his father's blessing (xxxv. 1-4; comp. the Elohist portions of xxvii. as given below in the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History'). When Jacob returns to Canaan, he finds that Esau (who is apparently already settled in Seir or Edom) is advancing against him, and he succeeds in appeasing his wrath by rich gifts (xxxii. 14^b, 22; xxxiii. 11).

By these and many other instances Hupfeld convinced inquirers that not two but three documents have been used in the compilation of Genesis—viz., that of the 'Priestly Writer,' of the Elohist, and of the Jahvist. He also showed that, although the Elohist agrees with the 'Priestly Writer' in the use of the word Elohim, he stands in style and spirit much closer to the Jahvist than to the 'Priestly Writer.' Moreover, having acquired a much better knowledge of the documents than had been possible to his predecessors, he made it plain that each of these documents had once been an independent work. Therefore the 'Supplement Theory' came to a natural end. It was no longer sufficient to account for the facts. Each document was seen to form a consistent whole. It is simply inconceivable that the Jahvist or Elohist should have 'supplemented' the 'Priestly Writer' by

making additions which sometimes directly contradict him. At the same time, an editor who lived in an age when all the three documents enjoyed a considerable prestige might well attempt the task of piecing them together. He took the Priestly document for his basis and made large extracts from the other two. Fortunately for us, he did his work in a conservative spirit. Almost always he lets the documents speak for themselves. He was content to establish a superficial unity, and it is possible after so long a time to undo his labour and to separate again the materials which he has joined. True, the documents, or at least two of them, that of the Jahvist and of the Elohist, have been mutilated in no small degree by the compiler. He could not allow the same fact to be repeated without variation, and he had to remove contradictions which even in his judgment could not be reconciled by the utmost violence of interpretation. Still he had that faith in a process of harmonising able to reconcile everything and anything which still subsists among some interpreters of Scripture, and he left his documents untouched whenever he thought it possible to do so. Subsequent scholars have continued Hupfeld's work, and tried to distinguish the various documents through the whole of the Hexateuch. In particular, Nöldeke, writing in 1869,¹ attempted to determine the parts of the Hexateuch which belong to the 'Priestly Writer.' His results have been generally accepted: indeed, allowing of course for differences in detail, we may feel confident that this part of the critical work has been done by Nöldeke once for all.

Since then there has been no decided advance in the severance of the documents, and it only remains to sum up the results attained and universally, or all but universally, accepted.

¹ Nöldeke's arguments and results are exhibited in his *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A.T.* pp. 1-144. The first essay is entitled *Die s.g. Grund-schrift des Pentateuchs*. Nöldeke distinguishes (1) The Grund-schrift or 'Priestly Writer'; (2) The Jahvist, who used the work of the Elohist and made large extracts from it; (3) The Editor or Redactor, who united the 'Priestly Writer' and the Jahvist. Nöldeke gave far too subordinate a position to the Elohist, but this does not detract from his merit in accurately distinguishing the work of the 'Priestly Writer.'

The Hexateuch, then, must be considered as a unity. The book of Joshua is part of a whole, the Pentateuch forming another part of the same whole. This whole is arranged on a continuous plan.

This whole, however, is composed of various documents which at one time formed independent books. These documents are known as the work of the Jahvist, the Elohist, the Deuteronomist, and the 'Priestly Writer.' Besides this, each document may have had—to some extent they admittedly have had—a history, each being expanded and altered before it was united with the others. Moreover, a document might adopt fragments of poetry or even of legislation from older sources. We have instances of this in Gen. xlix., Num. xxi., in Deut. xxxii., xxxiii., and in Josh. x. 12, 13; probably also in the Decalogue and in the book of the Covenant (Exod. xx. 22—xxiii. 33).

The Jahvist and Elohist are closely akin in religious ideas, in the subject-matter of which they treat, and in their general style. Very often their accounts ran closely parallel to each other, and only differed in detail. For this reason the editor who united them together was obliged to make constant omissions from one or other of his documents, otherwise he would have had to tell the same story twice over. For the same reason, it is sometimes not only hard but impossible to say what belongs to the Jahvist and what to the Elohist. In Genesis the compiler sets a piece of the Jahvist document after a piece of the Elohist. The result is a mosaic, and we can take his work to pieces again with tolerable success. We have, *e.g.*, admirable specimens of the Jahvist and Elohist in the history of Joseph. In other books of the Hexateuch, the Jahvist and the Elohist are rather fused than pieced together, and discrimination between the two documents is often impossible. Nearly always, however, when uncertain whether a section belongs to the Jahvist or Elohist, or in what way the two documents have been mixed, we have still ground for perfect confidence that the section belongs to the united work of the Jahvist or Elohist. That the Jahvist and Elohist docu-

ments have been united together is certain ; and the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' which forms the first part of this work exhibits all that is certainly either Jahvist or Elohist. The reader will perceive that we get in this way a continuous and nearly complete work, so that it seems impossible to escape from the conclusion that a compiler united the Jahvist and Elohist documents into one book, which first existed apart, and then was united with the rest of the Hexateuch. The weight of critical opinion favours this view. The opinion, however, is not held by all, and the mode in which Jahvist and Elohist were united is still a vexed question. The 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' is almost wholly narrative. At the same time it contains a code of law already referred to as the 'Book of the Covenant.'

Our next document is that of the Deuteronomist, which was originally a legal code, not a history. It probably began with the superscription, iv. 44 : 'This is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel. These are the testimonies and the statutes and the judgments, etc. We have a long hortatory introduction, extending from vi. to xi. 32. This is followed by the code in the strict sense, xii.—xxvi., and by the promises and blessings in xxviii., with which the Deuteronomical code, like the 'Book of the Covenant,' appropriately ends. On the basis of this law, Israel becomes the people of Yahweh, xxvii. 9, 10, and Moses writes the laws, which he has spoken in the hearing of the people, in a book which he delivers to the Levites, xxxi. 9-13. Thus far, critics are all but unanimous, though Wellhausen argues that the hortatory introduction (v.-xi.) has been added later by an author who was imbued with the manner and spirit of the original Deuteronomist. It is also admitted that the speech of Moses (i. 1—iv. 43), in which he recounts the history of Israel from their encampment at Horeb to their arrival at the eastern bank of the Jordan, did not belong to the original plan of the book, though it is written in the Deuteronomical style. A more complete list of those secondary passages in the book of Deuteronomy which, though they did not come from the original Deuteronomist, still proceed from his

school, will be given in the second part of the work, in which the Deuteronomical history and legislation will be printed and annotated apart. Meantime, the reader must observe that the Deuteronomical writing extends throughout the book of Joshua. When the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' was united to the Deuteronomical code, the editor wished to depict Joshua as a pious hero who prospered because he observed the Deuteronomical law. Accordingly, we find that in Joshua the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' has been coloured by the Deuteronomical style and spirit, and even that large sections have been written—not by the Jahvist or Elohist, but—by a Deuteronomist. The hortatory style of the Deuteronomist, with the same phrases and turns of expression constantly recurring, can be easily recognised. Hollenberg, in 1874, set himself to determine the Deuteronomical element in Joshua, and it is generally admitted that he has solved the problem.

Lastly we have the 'Priestly Writer,' whose dry annalistic history, which prepares the way for an elaborate ritualistic code, extends from the first verse of Genesis almost to the end of Joshua. As has been already said, his work is easily distinguished, and the extent of it has on the whole been finally settled by Nöldeke. Further, it is admitted that additions were made from time to time to this Priestly code, additions which were inevitable in a practical system of law. They correspond to the *novellae* or additions to the codex of Roman law. It is also allowed on all hands that we have the germ of the Priestly legislation in Lev. xvii.-xxvi. We shall see hereafter that these chapters are more or less complete in themselves, and, though they are in the 'Priestly' style and spirit, have marked peculiarities of their own. This code, like the 'Book of the Covenant' and that of the Deuteronomist, ends with blessings and curses.

These documents are usually represented, for the sake of brevity, by letters of the alphabet. Kuenen, whose symbols have become widely recognised, uses J for the Jahvist, E for the Elohist, JE for Jahvist and Elohist combined into one book, D

for the Deuteronomist, P for the 'Priestly Writer.' Using these symbols here, we may state the points of argument and difference thus. There is general agreement as to the contents of JE, D, P. There is much difference of opinion on the contents of J and E considered separately; the problem becomes more difficult when we pass beyond Genesis to the later books of the Hexateuch, and to a great extent the problem may prove insoluble. There are, moreover, various theories as to the various strata in the documents, those strata being generally marked as D¹, D², J¹, J², etc. Finally, there is difference of opinion on the way in which J was united with E, Dillmann being opposed to the common view that J and E were united together before they were united with the rest of the Hexateuch; and there is much wider difference of opinion on the way in which JE came to form one with D, and JED with P. Of course the number of editors or redactors assigned must vary with theories on the mode in which the component documents were united. The letter R is generally used to denote an editor or redactor, and so we have R^{JE} for the editor who is supposed to have united J and E, R^H for the editor who united the whole Hexateuch, etc. etc. These symbols have been used here to supply short formulae which may help the reader's memory, but they have been avoided throughout the rest of the present work.

CRITICAL INVESTIGATION—(*continued*).

(b) *The Date of the Documents and of the Hexateuch as a whole.*

The discovery that the Hexateuch is composed of various documents, must in the end affect the traditional views of Mosaic authorship. So long indeed as attention was confined to Genesis, it was possible to believe with Astruc that Moses himself was the compiler of the documents, and in that sense the author of Genesis as we have it. Eichhorn occupied much the same position: he thought that the separate documents which he perceived in

Genesis could not be traced beyond the two first chapters of Exodus, and he was therefore ready to acquiesce in the old opinion that the Pentateuch, if we allow for a few interpolations, is the work of Moses, or at least of Moses and his contemporaries. Such a theory, however, became impossible when it was seen that these documents extend through the whole Pentateuch—nay, that they are continued in the book of Joshua. This becomes still more evident if the mutual relations of these documents be examined. Let him who will suppose with Eichhorn that Moses wrote journals of his life. We can hardly, however, be asked to believe that he wrote contradictory accounts of his life in different styles, and that after his death each of these styles was studiously imitated. Besides, when the difficulty from the fragmentary or documentary character of the Pentateuch made itself felt, it was natural that the historical difficulties stated, *e.g.*, by Spinoza, should revive with redoubled force. So it proved. As early as 1792 Dr. Geddes¹ saw that the Hexateuch was the work of various hands, and also that a great part of it must have been written long after Moses. Geddes writes thus in the preface to his translation of the Bible with critical notes:—‘From intrinsic evidence three things seem to me indubitable: 1, the Pentateuch in its present form was not written by Moses; 2, it was written in the land of Canaan, and probably at Jerusalem: 3, it could not be written before the time of David, nor after that of Hezekiah.

¹ Dr. Geddes was born of Catholic parents in Banffshire, went to the Scotch College at Paris, and studied Hebrew with brilliant success under Ladvocat, a professor in the Sorbonne. After officiating for many years as a Catholic priest in his native land, and in London, he published two volumes, containing an annotated translation of the Bible from Genesis to the end of Chronicles (1792 and 1797), followed by a third volume of *Critical Remarks* in 1800. In consequence he was suspended from his ecclesiastical functions, and denounced by Protestants as an infidel. In fact, he was a man of blameless life, and a sincere Christian, but his countrymen could not or would not understand him. His works, despite their faults of style, show real learning, and he understood far better than the dry rationalists, who then ruled in the German universities, the spontaneous origin and the naïve simplicity of Hebrew myth and legend.

The long pacific reign of Solomon is that to which I would refer it.' Later on he says: 'To the Pentateuch I have joined the book of Joshua, because I conceive it to have been compiled by the same author.' It is right to add that Geddes believed the Pentateuch to have been compiled from documents which in part were really Mosaic. The 'Critical Remarks' of Geddes were partly translated into German, partly developed by Vater in his commentary on the Pentateuch (1802),

In 1806 De Wette in his *Contributions to Old Testament Introduction* (*Beiträge zur Einleitung in das A.T.*), argued that the legislative code of Deuteronomy cannot be much older than the time in which, according to 2 Kings xxii., it was discovered, viz., the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign, about 621 B.C. De Wette put the investigation on a sound basis, and his conclusions, in the main, have gradually obtained universal acceptance. Some eminent critics (Ewald, Riehm,¹ Bleek, etc.) have placed its composition nearly a century earlier, under the reign of Manasseh. The point is not of capital importance, and involves no difference of principle. The principle by which the date is determined is this: The book of Deuteronomy constantly insists that sacrifice is to be offered only at one central shrine, to the exclusion of the local shrines of 'high places.' Now, down to the time of Hezekiah, prophets like Elijah, the most pious kings such as Asa, Jehoshaphat, did sacrifice on the 'high places,' nor do the literary prophets down to that date (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, etc.) make the least protest against their practice. Hezekiah is said (2 Kings xviii. 4) to have 'removed the high places,' but no reference is made to any legal code as the ground and justification of his

¹ Riehm gave his opinion on Deuteronomy as early as 1854, in a clear and interesting little treatise, *Die Gesetzgebung Moses im Lande Moab*. There he places the date of composition in the second half of Manasseh's reign, between 667 and 640 B.C. In his posthumous *Introduction to the Old Testament*, the date of composition is put further back, viz., to the reign of Hezekiah. Kleinert's *Deuteronomium und der Deuteronomiker* is only known to me from quotations. But his opinion that Deuteronomy was written by Samuel only deserves notice as a curious eccentricity.

reform. For these and other reasons, to be given in detail hereafter, critics are nearly unanimous in their belief that the Deuteronomical code was published for the first time in the eighteenth year of Josiah. On the length of time which elapsed between writing and promulgation critics differ, but their differences are not very grave.

Thus the date of Deuteronomy was settled first. This was natural, for the legal code of Deuteronomy stands by itself, and has its marked peculiarities of style and thought. It was then comparatively easy to consider it apart, and to determine its date. With the other documents it was different. They do not stand by themselves, but have to be separated by patient labour. Till the contents of a document were ascertained, it was vain to dispute about its date. Critics, then, were chiefly occupied in the severance of the documents, and since De Wette's essay on the age of Deuteronomy much time passed before any considerable progress was made with regard to the dates of the other documents. It has been said above that for long the Jahvist was supposed to have 'supplemented' the 'Priestly' document. This exploded theory exercised a bad influence on the question of date. The inquirer began with the erroneous prejudice that the Jahvist must be later than the 'Priestly Writer.' The general view on the dates of the documents stood thus as late as 1866. It was usually assumed that the Deuteronomist was the latest, the 'Priestly Writer' the oldest of the authors. The 'Priestly Writer' was assigned to very different ages—De Wette, *e.g.*, placing him in the reign of Jehoshaphat, about 970 (?), Bleek much earlier, under Saul. It was thought that this 'Priestly Writing' was united later with the Jahvist and Elohist documents. This process, according to Knobel, was completed in the reign of Hezekiah. Finally, the composite work, consisting of 'Priestly Writer,' Jahvist, and Elohist, was united with the Deuteronomical code.

All this was little better than guess-work, the only fixed quantity being the date of Deuteronomy. In 1866 Graf set the great problem of date which has been discussed ever since. Like

De Wette, Graf connected the criticism of the Hexateuch with the general history of Hebrew religion. We have seen that Deuteronomy cannot be older than the reign of Hezekiah, because it assumes that sacrifice must be offered in one place only. Similarly, Graf argued that the priestly legislation must be later than the Exile, in B.C. 586, because whereas Deuteronomy and all Hebrew literature identify Priests and Levites, the 'Priestly Writer,' following Ezekiel, sharply distinguishes between the two. He confines priestly acts to the sons of Aaron, and makes the rest of the Levites subordinate ministers in the sanctuary. Even Ezekiel, however, speaks of this distinction as a novelty which is to hold good for the future. The 'Priestly Writer,' on the contrary, represents the distinction as one of primitive antiquity, and carries it back to the time of Moses and the legislation at Mount Sinai. Graf strengthened his position by a number of other arguments, some of which will be given later on.¹

For nearly twenty years the debate has turned chiefly on the question raised by Graf, viz., the relation and absolute date of

¹ Graf's book is entitled *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des A. T.*, and only the former part (113 pages) deals directly with the Hexateuch, and with the historical books from Judges to Kings. Graf directed his chief attention to the laws in the Hexateuch. He found the oldest legislation in Exod. xii., xx-xxiii. (the 'Book of the Covenant'). Next he placed the Deuteronomical code in the reign of Josiah: last came the 'Priestly' legislation, which was drawn up after the Exile. Graf's criticism depended on his view of legal and religious development, to the neglect of the tests afforded by literary style. In this way he came to separate the 'Priestly' legislation from the 'Priestly' narrative: he believed that the 'Priestly' narrative belonged to the earliest, the 'Priestly' legislation to the latest portions of the Hexateuch. It was easy for Riehm to show that any such separation was utterly untenable. The common style, which is exceedingly marked and uniform, besides the fact that the narrative constantly has the legislation in view, prove that both belong to the same age and are in the main from the same hand. Indeed Graf, before his death in 1869, acknowledged his error; but, instead of going back at Riehm's invitation, he went forward, and placed the 'Priestly' document as a whole, both its narrative and legislative portions, after the Exile. This is the view held and defended by Kuenen, Wellhausen, Reuss, Kayser, Robertson Smith, and many others, and opposed by Nöldeke, Dillmann, Kittel, Baudissin (see his *A. T. Priesterthum*, 1889), etc.

To some extent Graf had been anticipated. Vatke, in his *Religion des A. T.*

the Priestly Writers. The following propositions will, it is hoped, give a clear idea of the state in which matters stand at present.

It is admitted that the Deuteronomical code belongs to the time of Josiah's reform, B.C. 621, or at all events is not much older.

The Jahvist and Elohist documents which compose the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' are much older than Deuteronomy. All critics who belong to the school of Graf—and we shall see how numerous and powerful that school is—recognise in this 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' the most ancient part of the Hexateuch. But even critics opposed to Graf on the main issue still incline to believe in the greater antiquity of the Jahvist and Elohist as compared not only with the Deuteronomist but also with the 'Priestly Writer.' Dillmann, for example, admits that the Elohist is older than the 'Priestly Writer,' while Delitzsch perceives that the 'Priestly Writer's' account of the creation is less antique than that of the Jahvist.¹ There is also an approach to agreement as to the dates of the Jahvist and Elohist. They must have been written some time before the destruction of the northern kingdom in 722. Again, it is admitted that the Elohist

(1835), has some clear and excellent remarks (p. 533 *seq.*), in which he shows that the 'Priestly' code is posterior not only to Deuteronomy but also to Ezekiel. Unfortunately, Vatke's book is written in accordance with the ideas and the terminology of the Hegelian philosophy, and his theory repels by its appearance of having been constructed *a priori*. A similar theory was suggested by Von Bohlen (*Genesis historisch-kritisch erläutert*, ch. xxiii.), and admirably applied to the legislation on the feasts by George (*Jüdischen Feste mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung*). Excellent as George's remarks are, they were premature. He did not see, for example, that the mention of the seventh day in Gen. i. belongs to the same document as the 'Priestly' legislation, and so he falls into the inconsistency of putting the 'Priestly' narrative early, the 'Priestly' legislation late. It is curious that Vatke, Von Bohlen, and George all wrote in 1835.

¹ Dillmann agrees with other modern critics (Kuenen, Wellhausen, etc.) in the belief that in Lev. xvii.-xxvi. we have fragments which are older than the rest of the 'Priestly' code, and that fragments belonging to the same earlier stratum of law may be found elsewhere—*e.g.*, in Lev. xi., Num. xv. 38-41. Kuenen calls this earlier stratum 'P¹,' because in thought and style it is allied to the 'Priestly' code, others the 'Holiness laws,' because this earlier legislation rings the changes on the holiness required of the Israelites,

wrote in Northern Israel: where the Jahvist wrote is disputed, and there is also much contention on the time and the manner in which the Jahvist and Elohist documents were first united.

The date of the 'Priestly' document is, as has been said, the chief point in debate. According to Wellhausen, Kayser, Kuenen, Stade, Smend, Robertson Smith, Budde, and many others, it was gradually composed in and after the Exile, and incorporated with the rest of the Hexateuch about the time of Ezra, *i.e.* about 444 B.C., though even after that date important additions were made. About the brilliant reasoning, the acuteness and learning, with which this view has been maintained, there can be no manner of question. The school of Graf embraces probably most of the younger scholars, though it also numbers veteran critics such as Kuenen and Reuss among its leaders, and it seems to be continually gaining ground. Still it must be remembered that scholars of great name—Dillmann, the best commentator on the Hexateuch, Nöldeke, perhaps the very greatest of Semitic scholars now living, Bredenkamp, Baudissin, Kittel, etc.—still hold to the conservative view, and place the substance of the 'Priestly' history and code long before Deuteronomy, and therefore, of course, long before the Exile. We may take Dillmann as perhaps best fitted to represent this view. He places the 'Priestly Writer' about 800 B.C., but supposes that he used still older materials.

Here, no doubt, we have an important difference. Still we may well be thankful that, after nearly a century and a half of critical labour, so large a measure of unanimity should have been attained. The contention has been reduced to one point of capital moment. Even here the difference, great though it

while Dillmann calls it S (=Sinaitic Law), because it is said (Lev. xxvi.) to have been given 'in Mount Sinai.' But how much earlier than the rest of the 'Priestly' code is this P¹, this 'Sinaitic legislation'? Dillmann gives no definite answer, though, placing the 'Priestly' code as early as 800, he must of course give a still higher antiquity to the 'Sinaitic Laws.' On the other hand, Graf and all his school (Kuenen, Wellhausen, etc.), place even this earliest sketch of the 'Priestly' code in or after Ezekiel's time.

certainly is, is not so great as it seems. Dillmann places the composition of the 'Priestly' document some three centuries before the date given by Kuenen and Wellhausen. But Dillmann himself admits that it was altered during the Exile, and amplified with priestly laws which were then first written down. He conjectures that this work was done by priests who remained behind at Babylon when their brethren returned to Judæa in 536 B.C. But it is really of greater moment for the history of Israel to know when the 'Priestly' law was promulgated and came into force rather than the time at which it was actually written. Now Dillmann does not dream that the 'Priestly' code was promulgated nearly as early as 800. Far from it. 'It is,' he says, 'self-evident that the document was, and remained at first, private, without royal or public sanction, and was for the most part only handed down in priestly circles.' We shall have to inquire whether this theory is likely, or even consistent with the most obvious facts. Meantime, it is well to note the point at which the opposing theories touch each other. It is worth while also to quote the words of Kittel in his *History of Israel*. His critical views are much the same as Dillmann's, but he generously acknowledges that the defence of Graf's theory by Wellhausen and Kuenen has been not only 'brilliant' but also 'thorough,' and he acknowledges that their arguments are 'real' and 'sometimes weighty.'

In this brief history of criticism no reference has been made to the opinion that the whole Pentateuch is the work of Moses. Such an opinion is not critical : it may be held, and is held, on the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, the early Church, and of words attributed to Jesus Christ. It cannot be obtained from an examination of the Pentateuch itself and the historical evidence which can be brought for the Mosaic authorship. In Germany, where inquiry has long been free, the traditional view that Moses wrote the Pentateuch seems to be extinct among Protestants. Keil, who died in 1888, was probably the last representative of

the old opinion.¹ The learned Delitzsch found himself forced to make larger and larger concessions to criticism till, in the last edition of his commentary on Genesis (1887), he adopted a position much like that of Dillmann. In England the prevalence of conservative views on the Pentateuch is accounted for by the fact that Old Testament learning had fallen into entire neglect.² During the last thirty years there has been a revival of Hebrew study, and English scholars investigate the history of the Hexateuch in the spirit and method which used to be called 'German,' but which are simply the spirit and method of criticism as such, the very spirit and method long familiar to English scholars when applied to the history of Greece or Rome.

II.—POSITIVE RESULTS AND THE REASONS FOR THEM.

§ I.—THE HEXATEUCH IS COMPOSED OF SEVERAL DOCUMENTS.

The view of the Hexateuch accepted among critics and followed in this book may well seem strange at first to a reader whose ideas have been derived from the literatures of Greece and

¹ See Strack's *Einleitung in das A.T.*, p. 29, where he mentions Keil as the only 'Old Testament scholar of repute' in Germany who held to the traditional view. Of course, Roman Catholic scholars like Kaulen are bound to do so. Even among modern Roman Catholics, the French Orientalist Lenormant tried to make some use of the criticism of the Pentateuch. His book was placed on the Index.

² See Colenso on the Pentateuch, Pt. iv. p. x. *seq.* Here it may be well to explain why so little notice has been taken of Dr. Colenso's work in the introductory essay. He made little direct contribution to the criticism. His critical views changed, as his work progressed, and for the most he does but reproduce the theories of others. But he demonstrated probably with greater completeness than any of his predecessors, the unhistorical character of the documents. And so indirectly he contributed to criticism. Kuenen observed that it was just the 'Priestly' document which suffered most from Colenso's examination, and for this, among other reasons, he was led to inquire whether that document might not be the latest rather than the earliest portion of the Hexateuch.

Rome, or of modern Europe. Classical historians did, no doubt, use earlier documents, but they do not, except in case of formal quotation, copy them verbally: they express the facts which they have learned from other sources in their own words and in their own way, and hence their works present one style and one plan throughout. Is it likely that a Hebrew writer should have followed a method which may seem at first sight very artificial? To answer this question we must remember that all extant records of Hebrew history written before the Exile, and many written after it, were anonymous. The historian did not, like Herodotus or Thucydides, assert his own personality: it was lost behind the history of his people. It was therefore very natural that one document should be enriched by additions from another, and that an author or compiler who wished to give the history of his people with all fulness should unite the documents of reputation which lay at hand and feel no desire to write afresh what had been written well enough already.¹ The Hebrew historians, like the Arabic writers of a later day, had easy notions on historical evidence, and a compiler suffered discordant accounts to stand side by side. If the contradiction was startling even to men of his age, he removed it or softened it, but it never occurred to him that the credit of one or other of the contradictory documents must be impaired. That Hebrew writers did go to work in this way is not a matter of conjecture, but of demonstration. The books of Chronicles, for example, contain sections which agree verbally with corresponding sections in the books of Samuel and Kings. In the book of the prophet Isaiah

¹ Arabic histories are not, as a rule, anonymous. The reason is that extant Arabic literature, making allowance for a few exceptions in the form of poetry, begins with Mohammed. The early histories were written when the Moslem empire embraced a vast extent of territory and many countries. Among the Hebrews a writer simply gave the traditions current among his people, and more or less familiar to all his readers. An Arabic historian related events which had happened at a great distance, in lands little known to many of his readers, so that the personality of the writer and his sources of information necessarily assumed greater prominence.

we find long historical sections which again agree, for the most part word for word, with the narrative in the second book of Kings. Here, of course, chance resemblance is out of the question. Either the author of one book copied without acknowledgment from the other, or both copied without acknowledgment from a third document. The book of Ezra, as we have it, is even partly in one language, partly in another, for the compiler, when an Aramaic document suited his purpose, did not take the trouble to translate it into Hebrew, the language in which most of his work is written. The examination of the book known as 'Third Ezra' (First Esdras in the English Apocrypha) is peculiarly instructive. It may be divided into eight sections. The first is extracted from Chronicles, the second and third from the canonical Ezra, the fourth is original or from some unknown source, the rest are from various parts of the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah. The compiler has transposed and arranged his extracts with great freedom, but he transcribes as a rule faithfully, though here and there he allows himself to abridge or paraphrase. The compilation has a superficial unity, and does not profess to be borrowed. Many other parallels might be produced from Arabic and from early Christian literature. So far, we have been showing that the Hexateuch might be composed of various documents. That it is so composed is abundantly evident from the divergences in matters of fact and in style, and critics are able to separate document from document with such success that the process justifies itself.

Let us begin with the legislation. We have three distinct codes of law. Of these the Book of the Covenant was given at Mount Sinai, and is contained in Exod. xx. 22—xxiii. 33. It ends with promises of divine blessing in cases of obedience. We have another code, also given at Mount Sinai, contained in Leviticus xvii.-xxvi., and this also ends with promises, but chiefly with terrible threats. Closely allied in thought and style to this second code are a number of enactments which form a great part of Exodus and Numbers, and extend through the whole of

Leviticus except the chapters just mentioned. These laws were mostly given at Mount Sinai, but some of the enactments were promulgated nearly forty years later, just before the death of Moses, when the Hebrews were on the east of Jordan. Thirdly, we have in the book of Deuteronomy a code given on the east of Jordan shortly before the death of Moses, and also ending with divine threats and promises. Not one of these codes makes the slightest reference to either of the other two. Is it not incredible that one author should, without the least explanation, have represented one and the same legislator as acting in this way?

Still less is it reasonable to think that the same writer ascribed three contradictory codes to the same legislator, especially if the contradictions are striking and important. Some idea of the contradictions may be formed from the following samples. According to the 'Book of the Covenant' sacrifice may be offered at many shrines, and the altar may be either of earth or of unhewn stone (Exod. xx. 24). According to the Deuteronomical code, liberty in this respect had been allowed for a season, but when the Israelites were settled in Canaan they were to sacrifice only at one shrine specially chosen by God, and this central shrine was to be the one place of sacrifice for all the tribes (Deut. xii. 1 *seq.* ; xiv. 23 *seq.* ; xvi. 2 *seq. et passim*). According to the 'Priestly' code, sacrifice began in the wilderness at Sinai ; it could be offered only at one place, viz., the altar of the tabernacle, so that there could be no question of offering sacrifice except at one place. Moreover, the Israelite had no choice as to the form of the altar. Its exact form and measurement were prescribed by Yahweh, and it was to be neither of earth nor stone, but of acacia wood covered with brass (Exod. xxvii. 1-8 ; Lev. xvii. ii. 1-5 ; i. 3). Nor does the 'Priestly' code, like that of Deuteronomy, insist that sacrifice may be offered at one place only. Rather, it takes this for granted, and pre-supposes it in every sacrificial ordinance. The 'Book of the Covenant' mentions no priestly race. Deuteronomy limits the priesthood to the Levites, but assumes that all Levites are priests. It speaks habitually of 'the priests the

Levites,' or 'the priests the sons of Levi' (Deut. xvii. 9, 18; xviii. 1; xxi. 5; xxiv. 8; xxvii. 9; xxxi. 9), and, in terms so express that no ingenuity can evade them, extends the priesthood to the whole tribe of Levi. 'The priests and Levites, the whole tribe of Levi, shall have no portion or inheritance of Israel; the fire sacrifices of Yahweh and his inheritance shall they eat' (Deut. xviii. 1, 2). In direct opposition to this, the 'Priestly Writer' limits the priesthood to a particular family of Levites, viz., 'the sons of Aaron.' He does not let us think that the priesthood, originally common to all Levites, was gradually limited to the sons of Aaron. On the contrary, the sons of Aaron were first appointed by Yahweh to the priesthood (Exod. xxviii.). Afterwards, the Levites were 'separated' from the rest of the nation, that they might perform subordinate functions under the priests (Num. viii.), but they were forbidden under pain of death to approach 'the vessels of the sanctuary and the altar' (Num. xviii. 1-3). In Deuteronomy the tithes are to be taken from vegetable produce, and consumed at the central shrine in feasts to which the Levites are to be invited (Deut. xii. 17 *seq.*; xiv. 22-29). Every third year, however, the tithes are to be bestowed on the Levites and the poor (Deut. xxvi. 12-15). As to the 'Priestly' code, it recognises in one stratum vegetable tithes only (Num. xviii. 21-32); in another and, no doubt, later section it requires tithes to be taken from animals as well as from vegetables (Lev. xxvii. 30-33); but in each case the tithes are to be given entire to the Levites, and they in their turn are to hand over a tithe of their tithe to the priests (Num. xviii. 21-32.)¹ Further, the 'Priestly' code assigns forty-eight cities, with

¹ The oldest rabbinical tradition as stated in the book of Tobit (i. 7 and 8), Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 8, 22, and the Jerusalem Targum on Deut. xxvi. 12, 13, held that a Jew was bound to pay two tithes every year, viz., one to the Levites, another for sacrificial feasts at Jerusalem, besides a third tithe for the poor payable every third year. This theory might suit Jewish traders well enough, because it left those who did not till the land or feed cattle completely free. But such an enormous impost for religious purposes could not have been exacted from an agricultural people. The Talmud generally takes for granted that in the third year the tithe for sacrificial feasts was in abeyance. See Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 176 *seq.*

a large extent of surrounding pasture, to the priests and Levites (Num. xxxv. 1-8): of these priestly possessions Deuteronomy knows nothing. Had it known anything, it could not have failed to mention them in the list of Levitical perquisites (Deut. xviii. 1-5), nor could it have placed the Levites and the poor in constant connection, or spoken of 'the Levite in thy gates.' This phrase is, of course, in perfect harmony with the Deuteronomical view that the Levites have no inheritance in Israel except their share in the sacrifices, but quite inconsistent with the representation of the 'Priestly' code that they were supported by tithes, animal and vegetable, and held besides considerable domains. Once more, in the 'Book of the Covenant' we have (Exod. xxii. 29) the general statement that first-born sons belong to God, and that the first-born of sheep and oxen are also to be given to him, and with this we may compare the law given in an allied document, the 'Words of the Covenant,' that the first-born sons and first-born males of cattle belong to Yahweh; the first-born sons are to be redeemed, the firstling of an ass is to be redeemed with a lamb, or else to have its neck broken (Exod. xxxiv. 19, 20). The law in Deuteronomy is much the same, so far as animals fit for sacrifice are concerned, and the sense in which the first-born of cattle belong to Yahweh is explained. They are to be eaten 'before Yahweh thy God,' and this, as the Deuteronomist is careful to add, 'in the place which Yahweh shall choose' (Deut. xv. 19-23). Thus the Israelite really profited by the first-born of his flocks and herds. He and his consumed the greater part of their flesh in sacrificial feasts. Whereas in the 'Priestly' code the flesh of the firstlings belongs absolutely to the priest, after the blood and fat have been offered on the altar; if the firstlings be unfit for sacrifice, then they may be redeemed for a sum of money or sold, the money in either case falling to the priest. Here the firstlings pass away from the original owner altogether (Num. xviii. 15-18; Lev. xxvii. 26, 27). 'Thou shalt eat thereof,' says the Deuteronomical code to the layman; 'the flesh is thine,' says the 'Priestly' code to the priest in the person of Aaron. In

Deuteronomy the Passover sacrifice may be taken from the flock or from the herd, and may be boiled (Deut. xvi. 1-8, especially 2 and 7): in the 'Priestly' code the victim must be a lamb or kid, and the Israelites are told in so many words that it is not to be 'boiled in water' but to be roasted.¹ The last instance of contradiction shall be taken from civil affairs. According to the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex. xxi. 2-6) the Hebrew slave is to go free after six years' service. If he brought a wife and children, they are to go out with him; if his wife was given to him in slavery, they are to remain as the property of his master. If the slave prefers to remain with his master, the master is to take him 'to God'—*i.e.* to a local sanctuary—and, placing him at the door-post, to pierce his ear with an awl. In Deut. xv. 12-18, the law is much the same, except that it is more mild and generous. But the Deuteronomist recognised no local sanctuary: he could not well require the master to travel to the temple at Jerusalem, and, therefore, if the slave prefers to remain in bondage, the master is not required to take him 'to God,' but simply has to bore the slave's ear in his own house. The 'Priestly' law on this point is widely different. The Hebrew slave is to go free, not in the seventh year, but in the year of jubilee—*i.e.* in the fiftieth (Lev. xxv. 39-43).

The same phenomena recur when we turn from the legislative to the narrative portions of the Hexateuch. We have two contradictory accounts of the Creation. According to the 'Priestly Writer' (Gen. i.-ii. 4*) the order of creation is,—light, the firmament, the separation of land and water, and the growth of trees, etc., the heavenly bodies, fish and birds, the animals, and, last of all, man, who is created male and female. According to the Jahvist (Gen. ii. 4^b-25) the order is,—man, plants, the lower animals, woman. We have two distinct accounts of the flood

¹ It is possible that בישל without the addition of במים may mean to 'cook,' and not necessary to 'cook by boiling.' But in any case the Deuteronomist evidently regards the mode of cooking as indifferent; the 'Priestly Writer' lays the greatest stress upon it (Exod. xii. 9).

which are mingled together, but which admit of easy separation. According to the Jahvist, Noah took seven pair of clean, one pair of unclean beasts: according to the 'Priestly Writer,' he took one pair of each species: and this is but one from a series of divergences (Gen vi.-vii.). We have discordant traditions to account for the origin of the names Beersheba (Gen. xxi. 31; xxvi. 33), Israel (Gen. xxxii. 28 *seq.*; xxxv. 10), Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 18, 19; xxxv. 15). Two accounts of Joseph's history, closely parallel on the whole, but discordant in important details, have been mingled together, as may be seen in the first part of this work. According to the Jahvist the name Yahweh was known even to Eve (Gen. iv. 1) and was quite familiar to the patriarchs; according to the Elohist (Exod. iii. 14 *seq.*), it was revealed to Moses during his exile among the Midianites; according to the 'Priestly Writer,' it was revealed to Moses on his return to Egypt (Exod. vi. 2 *seq.*), and this writer is careful to note that this sacred name was unknown to the patriarchs. The father-in-law of Moses was, according to one writer, Jethro or Jether (Exod. iii. 1; iv. 18); according to another, Reuel, or Hobab son of Reuel (Exod. ii. 18; Num. x. 29). According to the Elohist, 'the tent of meeting' stood outside of the camp, Joshua, an Ephraimite, being its minister and guardian (Exod. xxxiii. 7 *seq.*; Num. xi. 24-26; comp. Deut. xxxi. 14 *seq.*). According to the 'Priestly Writer,' the 'tent of meeting' stood in the centre of the camp; it is hedged round by a double cordon of sacred ministers, consisting of, first the Levites and then the priests. Even the Levites may not enter it, much less a mere layman like Joshua (Lev. xxvi. 11; Num. xviii. 3; xvii. 28 [13]). In Exod. xvi. we have an account of the sending of the manna and the quails; in Num. xi. the sending of the quails is related at a later period of the wanderings in the wilderness, and here the manna is described at length plainly by an author who is mentioning it for the first time. Num. xiii. contains two accounts of the sending of the spies which have been mixed together: according to one account the spies do not go further than Hebron and Eshcol in the south, they extol the goodness of the land, but

terrify the people by their report of the giants that inhabit it. According to another, here the 'Priestly Writer,' the twelve spies travel over the whole land from the Wilderness of Sin in the south to Rehob in the extreme north, and they report that the land, so far from being good, 'devours its inhabitants' (comp. Ps. cvi. 24). In Num. xvi.-xvii. three distinct accounts have been united. According to the first, the Reubenites, Dathan and Abiram, rebel against the civil authority of Moses (see e.g. xvi. 12-14); according to the second, Korah rebels against the authority of the Levites, and vindicates the sanctity of the whole congregation (see xvi. 2-7^a; xvii. 16-28, [1-13], in which last it is 'the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi' which buds): according to the third, Korah, a Levite, rebels against the exclusive priesthood of the sons of Aaron, and asserts the priesthood of all Levites (so e.g. xv. 7^b, 8-11, 16, 17).

These instances are very far from exhausting the list of contradictions in the Hexateuch, and not so much as an attempt has been made to give an idea of the endless repetitions in the same narrative, or of the way in which many a story, having reached a certain point, begins over again. But the samples given warrant the following inferences.

The Hexateuch is the work of several authors. True, a writer may contradict himself, and we cannot from the fact of inconsistencies in the *Iliad* or in plays of Shakespeare decide at once that there has been diversity of authorship. But no one author could contradict himself so often, and in such a striking manner, as we have found the Hexateuch to do. Above all, no author contradicts himself habitually on the same page.

This argument is clinched by the variety of style. We cannot imagine a wilder theory than this, that the same author wrote two stories, similar, but more or less contradictory in detail; that he wrote each story in a distinct style and with a distinct vocabulary, and then welded them into one, but without much verbal alteration. The severance of the documents is justified by its results. One has only to read the first two volumes of Colenso to see

what absurdities are involved if we take the Pentateuch as it stands and treat it as one book. There is no end to the chronological monstrosities which meet us at every turn. If the attempts to explain these difficulties away were a hundred times more successful than they are, we should still have to suppose that the narrator expressed himself with the utmost awkwardness and with perverse choice of the expressions most likely to confuse and mislead. Now, the writers of the Hexateuch do not shrink from the marvellous, and their canons of credibility are very different from ours. But the Hexateuch is a far nobler book than the apologists would make it. The Hebrews, like the Arabs after them, had the gift of telling a vivid story, and the Jahvist in particular is a prince of narrators. If we part the documents we obtain consistency of style, with a reasonable degree of consistency in fact. When, *e.g.*, we separate the 'Priestly Writer,' with his dry narrative and chronological system, from the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' we get two histories of the patriarchs, each perfectly intelligible. We can read the life-like story of Jacob's love for Rachel, and need no longer mar it by reflecting with Rashi that Jacob was 84 years old at the time of his marriage. We find, moreover, that the differences between the documents are not accidental but necessary. We find, for example, that the Jahvist represents Noah as sacrificing when he left the ark, while the 'Priestly Writer' makes no mention of any such sacrifice. The reason is that the latter could not have done so. In the first place, while the Jahvist makes Noah take seven pairs of all clean animals, according to the 'Priestly Writer,' he only took one pair of each species, and was, therefore, scarcely in a position to diminish his scanty stock by sacrifice. Secondly, the 'Priestly Writer' knows nothing of sacrifice by the servants of God before Moses. To the older writers religion is a natural growth. To the 'Priestly Writer' it is a matter of positive institution by God. Just as Adam is told by God that he may eat herbs, and Noah that he may eat flesh; just as Abraham receives from God the covenant of circumcision, unknown before, but to be observed

ever after by his descendants, so sacrifice to the God of Israel, and the distinction between clean and unclean animals, begin with the revelation to Moses on Mount Sinai.

§ 2—CONTENTS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DOCUMENTS.

(a) *The Oldest Book of Hebrew History.*

This composite document is preserved almost entire. Its object is to relate the myths and legends of Hebrew history from the Creation to the final settlement in Canaan and the death of Joshua. In one important respect the work differs from the sacred histories of other peoples. The whole book is imbued with the spirit, not, indeed, of Monotheism, but of monolatry—*i.e.* though there is no definite theory that only one God exists, it is always assumed that only one God might be lawfully worshipped by the Israelites or by their ancestors in the direct line. Again, the religion of the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' is ethical. Other nations, such as the ancient Germans, had religious feeling and also much sound morality. There was, however, little connection between the two. But the Hebrew God was a righteous God, though it is true that the Hebrew notion of righteousness must often seem very imperfect to Christians. An excellent illustration of the way in which this moral element predominates is supplied by the story of the flood. The myth has been borrowed from the Babylonians; but while the flood, according to the Babylonians, resulted from a whim of the gods, it was, in the eyes of the Hebrew writer, the penalty of sin. For the rest, the style of the narrative in the book as a whole, and its leading ideas, are of a very simple kind. We have a view of God which is often grossly anthropomorphic, and the morality, sometimes at least, is of a rudimentary kind. Abraham passes off his wife as his sister, and his duplicity does not, in the mind of the narrator, diminish his glory as a prophet or forfeit the protection of his God. Mingled with these older and lower ideas of religion and

morality, we have much which reminds one of the literary prophets, and comes, no doubt, from their school. But Kuenen's name for the book with which we are dealing, viz., the 'Prophetic' narrative, is scarcely happy. Some of its most remarkable elements are, as Kuenen himself points out, pre-prophetic. Further, the purpose of the book is to magnify Israel, and to tell the glory of her heroes. The growth of institutions and the origin of religious usages, so far as they are noticed at all, hold quite a subordinate place. Very little is said of formal ritual, and the 'Book of the Covenant' incorporated in the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' is a civil much more than a religious code. Priests are only mentioned incidentally, and the government has no resemblance to a theocracy. The religious observances of the patriarchs are connected with the old places of sacrifice, with Shechem, with Bethel, with Hebron, with Beersheba. But these places, once, in all probability, Canaanite shrines, are brought into connection with the patriarchs and the God of Israel.

It is more difficult to describe the two independent books, that of the Jahvist and that of the Elohist, which compose our 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' Much has perished in the process of union, so that we are very far from having either book in its complete and original form. Besides, the two books evidently proceeded in parallel lines of narrative, and it is often hard—nay, impossible—to say whether a particular section of the Hexateuch belongs to the Jahvist or the Elohist. The following points, however, are well established.

The Jahvist uses the divine name Yahweh from the very outset. He interests himself in moral questions, and speculates, though in a form which is mythological rather than philosophical, on the origin and growing power of evil. Thus it is he who tells us the story of Eden and Adam's fall, of the corruption of mankind and the flood which was its consequence, of the pride which manifested itself in the building of the tower at Babel, and the punishment which followed, viz., the confusion of tongues. At the same time we find in him an anthropomorphism which is the

most pronounced in the Hexateuch. Yahweh walks in Eden during the 'cool of the evening' (Gen. iii. 8); he closes the door on Noah as he goes into the ark (vii. 16); he is jealous and apprehensive of the men who build the Tower of Babel, and 'goes down' to confound their speech (xi. 6, 7); he appears in human form to Abraham, and eats with him; he goes to make inquiries about the iniquity of Sodom (xviii. *seq.*); he wrestles with Jacob (xxxii. 24-32); he meets Moses, and is on the point of killing him, without any apparent reason except that he devours naturally, like fire (Exod. iv. 24-26). The Jahvist also notes the agency of natural causes, where this feature has been obliterated in the form of the legends given by later writers. This trait shows itself strongly in his account of the Egyptian plagues. It is, for instance, an east wind which brings the locusts, and a west wind which sweeps them into the Red Sea. Indeed, the marvel of the plagues lies not so much in the events themselves, which are natural, as in the facts of their rapid succession, their prediction by Moses, and the way in which they attack the Egyptians and leave the Israelites unscathed. So, also, it is an east wind which blows all night, drives the Red Sea back, and enables the Israelites to cross. The Jahvist displays a large-hearted interest in the myths and sacred places both of northern Israel and of Judah. He speaks of Abraham's sojourn at Shechem and Bethel, but places his fixed abode at Hebron in Judah (Gen. xiii. 18; xviii. 1). He enters (Gen. xxxviii.) into the details of Judæan genealogy. Joseph, the father of the two great northern tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, is his hero, but he gives the next place after Joseph, not to Reuben, but to Judah.

The Elohist differs from the Jahvist, first because he always speaks of Elohim and never of Yahweh, till he relates the theophany in the burning bush (Exod. iii.); and as even after this turning-point the name Elohim occurs, we may infer with Dillmann and other critics that the Elohist continued the use of that word till the very end of his history, although after Exod. iii. it has been usually altered by later hands into 'Yahweh.' The

Elohist has more elevated notions of the Godhead than the Jahvist. The God of whom he writes appears in dreams (Gen. xx. 3; xxxi. 24; Num. xxii. 9, 20), or acts through the ministry of angels (Gen. xxi. 17; xxii. 11; xxviii. 12; xxxi. 11; xxxii. 2; xlviii. 16; Exod. iii. 2). Closely connected with this finer view of religion, is the presentation of Abraham as a prophet and intercessor (Gen. xx. 7), and the mention of Jacob's putting away the strange gods and amulets from his household (Gen. xxxv. 4) before he builds the altar to God at Bethel. He shows what may be called an antiquarian interest: it is in him we find the old word for a piece of money, viz., *Kesitah* (Gen. xxxiii. 19); it is he who notes the Aramæan origin of the teraphim (Gen. xxxi. 19 *seq.*; xxxv. 2 *seq.*); he is well informed about Egyptian matters, and in general he has given a number of concrete facts and names which are not to be found elsewhere. Although, as has been said above, he removes God further from men, he gives increasing prominence to the supernatural. Thus he makes Moses bring the plagues by the use of his magical rod. Finally, his stories of the patriarchs all centre round the shrines and sacred places of northern Israel, such as Shechem, Mahanaim, Jabbok, Peniel, Gilead, etc. No doubt he has much to say of Beersheba in the extreme south, but this is just one of the exceptions which prove the rule. For Beersheba was a place of pilgrimage highly esteemed in the northern kingdom (Amos viii. 14). Hence, though there is much dispute about the place in which the Jahvist wrote, there is a general consensus of critics that the Elohist belonged to the northern kingdom.

The points of difference between the Jahvist and Elohist in vocabulary and style are numerous and interesting. They are recounted by Dillmann in the third volume of his *Commentary on the Hexateuch*, pp. 617, 623 *seq.* Only a few specimens can be given here. The Jahvist uses the name Yahweh throughout: the Elohist never before Exod. iii. The Jahvist calls Jacob in the latter part of his life 'Israel'; the Elohist retains the name 'Jacob.' The Jahvist speaks of 'Sinai,' the Elohist of 'Horeb'

or 'the Mount of God.' The Jahvist calls the aborigines of Palestine 'Canaanites,' the Elohist 'Amorites.' The Jahvist calls a female slave or concubine שפחה, the Elohist invariably אמה. The Jahvist uses נבר and its derivatives for the 'hardening' of the heart, etc., the Elohist uses the hiphil of חזק. The Jahvist calls a bag or sack אמתחת, the Elohist שק. It must be remembered that these are only samples from a mass of characteristic differences. Some of them depend on grammatical peculiarities and turns of phrase. The Jahvist sometimes uses the emphatic ending in ך, and constantly prefers the pronominal suffix to the separate accusative with את. The Elohist, on the other hand, sometimes construes Elohim with the plural (Gen. xx. 13 ; xxxv. 7 ; Josh. xxiv. 19), and such forms of address and answer as 'And he said to him, "Abraham, Abraham," and he said "Here am I,"' are characteristic of him (Gen. xxii. 1 ; in LXX. 11 ; xlv. 2 ; Exod. iii. 4).

We cannot consider the way in which the Jahvist and Elohist documents were united without anticipating to some extent a question which has been reserved for separate examination, viz., the date of the documents which compose the Hexateuch. Moreover, several theories are still held on the manner in which, and the time at which, the Jahvist and Elohist became one book. Dillmann holds that they remained separate till they fell into the hands of the final editor, who united all the documents of the Hexateuch together. Kittel inclines to think that the union of Jahvist and Elohist was not effected till both were united with Deuteronomy. Others (Wellhausen, Kuenen, etc.) believe that Jahvist and Elohist were made into one book before they were joined to any other part of the Hexateuch. The last view is, as I venture to think, the only tenable one, and for these reasons : The Jahvist and Elohist were still separate when the Deuteronomist wrote, for in his summary of the previous history he almost always follows the Elohist, and few will adopt the unlikely hypothesis that he took the pains to separate the Elohist elements and assimilated them. Afterwards the Jahvist and Elohist docu-

ments were made into one book. The process involved considerable mutilation, besides an interpolation here and there in the interests of harmony. Now, while we find Jahvist and Elohist constantly—often, indeed, inextricably—united, they both stand, with few exceptions, quite apart from the ‘Priestly’ document. Again, till we come to the book of Joshua we scarcely ever find an historical trace of that Deuteronomical colouring which is so marked, and therefore so easy to detect. Once more, a writer of the Deuteronomical school enriched the Deuteronomical code with a preface (Deut. i.-iv. 44). Why should he have done so if the ‘Oldest Book of Hebrew History,’ compiled from the Jahvist and Elohist, already stood before the Deuteronomical law? Accordingly, we conclude that the Jahvist and Elohist were united by an editor who belonged neither to the school of the Deuteronomist nor the ‘Priestly Writer,’ who had no direct concern either with the Deuteronomical or the ‘Priestly’ code, but who wrought independently.

(b) *The Deuteronomical Code and the Deuteronomical Historians.*

The Jahvist and Elohist, with differences in detail, breathe the same spirit. The book of Deuteronomy introduces us to a different world. The first and most evident distinction is that the Jahvist and Elohist are historians. The book of Deuteronomy is chiefly legal. It justly claims to rank as a book of law, and this is still more apparent if we take the original code by itself. It professes to give a series of enactments which were to be the basis of a covenant between Yahweh and Israel. If we read Deut. iv. 45—xxvi. ; xxvii. 9, 10 ; xxviii. ; xxxi. 9-13 together, we have a connected and consistent whole.

First, in iv. 45-49 we have the title of the code, ‘These are the testimonies and the statutes and the judgments which Moses spoke to the children of Israel,’ etc. This is followed in v.-xi. by a long hortatory address. Moses goes back nearly forty years to the time when the law which he now promulgates was first com-

municated to him on Horeb. The decalogue which Yahweh proclaimed to the people there is repeated here, and, although Moses is always on the point of beginning to give the code of laws which he is now to publish, he pauses again and again : he enlarges on the dangers of disobedience, on the need of divine help, and he reminds the people of their sin in the worship of the golden calf. Undoubtedly this long introduction is trying to the reader's patience ; but it never loses sight of the law which it introduces. Moreover, this rhetorical manner reappears in the law itself. The Deuteronomist turns the principles of the prophets into a code, and therefore retains much of the prophetic style. The stream is coloured by the soil from which it sprang. The Law proper begins with the twelfth chapter. On the whole, order and connection are well maintained. After a denunciation of Canaanite idolatry, the eating of blood, and the offering of sacrifice except at the one central shrine, we have laws against false prophets who seduce the people to idolatry, laws on the destruction of idolatrous cities and the avoidance of all contamination, with positive enactments on tithes of vegetable produce, the consecration of the firstlings of cattle, the year of release, the manumission of Hebrew slaves, and the three great feasts. This set of laws directly religious (xii.-xvi. 17) is followed by civil ordinances (xvi. 18—xx.) on 'judges and officers,' and particularly on the king, on cities of refuge, on removal of landmarks, on witnesses, on war. Even here the religious interest of the legislator betrays itself, and laws against the idolatrous 'pillars' and sacred trees, on offering victims without blemish or flaw, on stoning idolaters, are intruded in this second division. Still, we have, perhaps, as much order as can be looked for in an Oriental code ; and it is to be remarked that the digression on the stoning of idolaters is, after all, connected with the context by its reference to the law concerning witnesses. In the third division (xxi.-xxv.) we have a number of laws, chiefly short ones, enumerated on no clear system, the reason being that the Deuteronomist has taken over material from other sources. In chap. xxvi. the lawgiver returns to his favourite

themes—the central sanctuary, the firstlings, the tithes, the Levitical priests. The law being now given, a covenant is concluded on that basis between Yahweh and Israel (xxvi. 16-19). The people are told that they are now Yahweh's people (xxvii. 9, 10); blessings and curses are appended as the sanctions of the law (xxviii.); and, finally (xxxi. 9-13), Moses writes the law down, gives a copy of it to 'the priests the sons of Levi,' and orders the whole code to be read to the whole people once every seven years at the feast of tabernacles.

We may now proceed to note the chief points of contrast between the Deuteronomical code and the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' The most evident contrast is that between a code and a book of history. Even between the code which the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' does contain, and the code of the Deuteronomist, the contrast is very great. The smaller code, viz., the 'Book of the Covenant,' may have been intended originally for the private use of those who sat in judgment. It makes no claim to be Mosaic, much less to have been spoken by God. True, the Elohist does make these claims for it, and asserts that it was the basis of a covenant between God and Israel. Yet even he neither asserts that it was a popular book, nor does anything appear to give it this character. But Deuteronomy does claim to be a sacred book, and a book for the people. It is that or nothing. It is given by Yahweh: it is placed in the keeping of the priests who bear the ark: it is to be read periodically to men, women, and children. The king is to provide himself with a copy of 'this law,'¹ and to 'read therein all the days of his life.' National prosperity depends on the observance of this law. In short, Deuteronomy is a sacred scripture, and, if the Jews had never had any other sacred writing, Mohammed might still have called them Ahl Ulkitāb, 'The people of the book.'

¹ 'A copy of this law,' Deut. xvii. 18. The false and ungrammatical translation of the LXX., τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο, has led (1) to the current name of the book, (2) to the erroneous belief that Deuteronomy professes to stand in relation to some other law.

This book is a law, but much more than a code of law in the ordinary sense, first because it subordinates everything to religion and really aims at a theocracy, next because the religious enactments themselves are means to one great end. On the one hand, the author would save his people from relapse into heathenism, on the other inspire them with an absolute devotion of the heart and soul to Yahweh. His tone is, and could not but be, that of a preacher quite as much as that of a legislator. For him, all truth centres in one truth: 'Hear, O Israel, Yahweh thy God is one Yahweh'—*i.e.* unique in nature and character, and so utterly unlike the gods of the heathen. All particular laws centre round the one commandment, 'Thou shalt love Yahweh thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.' This supreme duty of loving Yahweh is constantly on the lips of the Deuteronomist (x. 12; xi. 1, 13, 22; xiii. 4). No other writer in the Hexateuch mentions it; and it is very doubtful, though here we are anticipating the question of date, whether any Hebrew writer prior to the Deuteronomist had ever spoken of the love of God or Yahweh.¹ From the idea of this love of Yahweh, this entire devotion to him, the peculiar enactments of the Deuteronomist flow. The Jahvist and Elohist make much of the old shrines, though they are careful to connect them with the history of the Patriarchs and the apparition of Yahweh or his

¹ In only three passages which can possibly be prior to Deuteronomy is the love of God mentioned. These are Exod. xx. 6; Ps. xviii. 2; Judges v. 31. The first of these is from the Decalogue. The Decalogue exists in two recensions, viz., that in Exodus and that in Deuteronomy. Now that one recension should be interpolated from the other is precisely what the slightest acquaintance with analogous cases in literature would lead us to expect. That this interpolation has taken place in the Decalogue as given in Exodus is evident and admitted. Curiously enough, of Ps. xviii. we also have another recension, viz., in 2 Sam. xxii. In the latter, the opening verse, 'I will love thee, O Yahweh, my strength' is omitted, and rightly. The Aramaism אֲרַחֲמֶךָ for 'I will love thee,' is inexplicable in a psalm which otherwise bears the marks of early date, and, besides, the parallelism is destroyed by the intrusion of the clause. The only instance left is from Deborah's Song, the oldest remnant of Hebrew literature. Here the mention of love to Yahweh comes at the end of the song, which is perfect without verse 31. But no positive proof can be alleged against it.

angels. The Elohist mentions the pillars or obelisks set up by Jacob, and the house of God where tithes were to be offered at Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 18-22 ; xxxi. 13, 45). We also read in the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' of sacred trees such as the terebinth with its oracle at Shechem, the tamarisk which Abraham planted in obvious connection with the worship of Yahweh, etc. (Gen. xii. 6 ; xxi. 33).¹ But the Deuteronomist will make no such terms with old Canaanite usage. 'Ye shall surely destroy all the places wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains and upon the hills, and under every green tree, and ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and burn their Asherim with fire' (Deut. xii. 2, 3). The Jahvist and Elohist considered the pillar and the sacred tree so innocent that they ascribed their origin to Israel's saints and represented Joshua as erecting a stone under 'the oak which was in Yahweh's sanctuary.' On the other hand, the Deuteronomist says, 'Thou shalt not plant thee an Asherah of any kind of tree beside the altar of Yahweh thy God. . . . Neither shalt thou set thee up a pillar which Yahweh thy God hates' (Deut. xvi. 21, 22). Besides this, the Deuteronomist is never weary of repeating that no sacrifice may be offered save at the one place which Yahweh is to choose from all the tribes of Israel (Deut. xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 21, 26 ; xiv. 23-25 ; xv. 20 ; xvi. 2, 6 *seq.*, 11, 15 *seq.* ; xvii. 8, 10 ; xviii. 6 ; xxvi. 2). Here again, in the expression 'the place which Yahweh thy God shall choose,' we have a phrase constantly repeated by the Deuteronomist and his school, but never found in any passage which is not Deuteronomical. The system is completed by the limitation of the

¹ 'And Abraham passed through the land to the place of Shechem to the terebinth of the instructor' (Gen. xii. 6). The 'instruction' (תִּנְיָה) was given by oracles probably derived from the rustling of the sacred tree, which is called in Judges ix. 37, 'the terebinth of the augurs.' The sacred character of the 'place' appears from the legends that Jacob buried there the idols and amulets (Gen. xxxv. 4), that Joshua set up a stone in the sanctuary there (Josh. xxiv. 26), and that Abimelech was made king 'by the terebinth of the pillar that was in Shechem.'

priesthood to one tribe, viz., to the sons of Levi, and by providing them with a share in the sacrifices (viz., the shoulder, the two cheeks and the maw), the firstfruits of corn, wine, and oil, and 'the first of the fleece' (Deut. xviii. 1-5). As there was to be only one place of sacrifice, the Levites, who lived chiefly on the sacrifices and had no land, were likely to be badly off. Accordingly, the Levites are constantly mentioned with the poor and the strangers, and commended to the charity of the Israelites with a kindness which runs through the whole of the Deuteronomical code, and is extended to all who are not idolaters (Deut. xii. 18, 19; xiv. 27-29; xvi. 11, 14; xxvi. 11-13).

The style and language of the Deuteronomical law are so marked that they can scarcely escape an intelligent reader of the English version. Riehm enumerates sixty-four words or phrases characteristic of the Deuteronomist. Their significance lies, first in the fact that they express obvious ideas, and are not names for special objects which force a writer to use peculiar words; secondly, in the fact that most of them are habitually repeated. Indeed, the monotonous repetition of certain stereotyped phrases is a striking feature in the Deuteronomical style. Thus we have 'a holy people' (עַם קָדֹשׁ) five times in Deuteronomy and nowhere else: 'Yahweh thy God' constantly (more than 180 times) in Deuteronomy, never in Leviticus or Numbers: exhortations to 'love' God as the sum of all religion nine times in Deuteronomy, nowhere else in the Pentateuch except in Exod. xx. 6, where it has been probably interpolated: 'Cleave to Yahweh' (Deut. x. 20; xi. 22; xiii. 5; xxx. 20), nowhere else in the Pentateuch: 'The place which Yahweh thy God will choose' eighteen times in Deuteronomy, nowhere else in the Pentateuch: 'Hear, O Israel' four times in Deuteronomy, nowhere else in the Pentateuch: 'Observe to do' without repetition or change of subject, twelve times in Deuteronomy, nowhere else in the Pentateuch:

¹ Riehm's *Einleit. in das A.T.*, i. p. 234 *seq.* Unfortunately the list is far from accurate. Kuenen, *Onderz.* i. § 7, 4, enumerates forty peculiarities in the language of Deuteronomy.

'That it may go well with thee' or 'with them' as a result of obedience to the law, seven times in Deuteronomy, nowhere else in the Pentateuch: 'The stranger, the orphan, and the widow' eight times in Deuteronomy, nowhere else in the Pentateuch: 'Thou shalt put away' (rather 'exterminate') 'the evil from the midst of thee,' or 'from Israel'—a solemn formula repeated nine times by the Deuteronomist and peculiar to him: 'In thy gates,' as equivalent to 'in thy cities,' twenty-seven times in Deuteronomy, nowhere else in the Pentateuch except Exod. xx. 10, where, as is generally admitted, the words are an interpolation from Deuteronomy: 'Which I command thee' or 'you' (אֲנִכִּי מִצְוֶה אַתָּה) thirty-three times in Deuteronomy, and once only in the rest of the Pentateuch, viz., in Exod. xxxiv. 11. Incomplete as these examples are, their force to prove the separate authorship is simply overwhelming. They are taken exclusively from the code in the proper sense, and therefore form a very short document. A writer may occasionally use peculiar expressions: he must do so in dealing with peculiar subject-matter. But let any one consider how simple and natural the expression 'which I command thee' is, and how easily it might have been used in the laws of Leviticus or Numbers. Let him remember further that it never occurs in these, and does occur at every turn in Deut. v.—xxvi. Can he help believing in the independent authorship of Deuteronomy?

If, then, the author of the Deuteronomical law had a style so marked, so full of stereotyped phrases, we can easily imagine that other writers, who were his contemporaries or lived a little later, would consciously or unconsciously imitate him. Nay, the rise of a Deuteronomical school was almost inevitable, for the original Deuteronomist was a great religious reformer. He set himself to abolish the old worship of Israel, which he regarded as half heathenish, and a man can hardly succeed (the Deuteronomist, as we shall see, did succeed) in work like this without arousing opposition on the one hand, attaching adherents on the other. We know how prone a religious school is to catch up favourite phrases of the master. Now, we have writings left which clearly

belong to this Deuteronomical school. Of these the first instance is furnished by the long historical introduction contained in Deut. i.—iv. 44. This section is clearly a later edition. Deuteronomy proper claims to be a code of law, not an historical work, and to this law an abundant introduction is supplied by the hortatory address in v.—xi. But we are not left to consideration of likelihood. In iv. 45-49, we have the superscription of the law: 'These are the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, which Moses spake to the children of Israel, when they came forth out of Egypt, beyond Jordan, in the valley over against Beth-peor, in the land of Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt at Heshbon, whom Moses and the children of Israel smote, when they came forth out of Egypt; and they took his land in possession, and the land of Og the king of Bashan, the two kings of the Amorites who were beyond Jordan toward the sunrising; from Aroer which is on the edge of the ravine of Arnon to Mount Sion (that is Hermon), and all the Arabah beyond Jordan eastward to the sea of the Arabah, under the slopes of Pisgah.' Taking the book of Deuteronomy as it stands, we could comprehend this long superscription, if it occurred at the beginning of chapter i., and described the book as a whole from its more important, *i.e.* its legislative part. We could also comprehend it, if it stood at the beginning of chapter xi., where the legislation in the strict sense opens. But between a long historical speech of Moses, and another long speech which is hortatory and partly historical, the superscription is clearly out of place. Let us suppose that it was written before the addition of i.—iv. 44 to the rest of Deuteronomy, and all is natural. Again, the superscription gives details of place, and explains how Israel got the territory east of Jordan. The writer would have seen no need for this if the historical introduction i.—iv. 44 had stood before his eyes, for there the whole story of the conquest is told at length. Further, while the view taken in the introduction closely follows the main ideas of the original Deuteronomist, it differs in detail. The writer of the historical introduction lays great stress on the fact that the generation which

came out of Egypt rebelled against Yahweh, and consequently was to perish, with some exceptions, in the wilderness (i. 26 *seq.*). The original Deuteronomist holds very different language on this head. 'Yahweh our God made with us a covenant on Horeb. Not with our fathers did Yahweh make this covenant, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day' (v. 2, 3). 'Your eyes have seen all the great work of Yahweh' (*i.e.* from Egypt onwards, xi. 3-7). So, in the introduction (ii. 29), we are told that the Moabites sold food and water to the Israelites: in the kernel of Deuteronomy this is denied, at least by implication: 'an Ammonite and a Moabite shall not enter into the assembly of Yahweh, . . . because they met you not with bread and water in the way' (xxiii. 3, 4). The introduction (iv. 41-43) speaks of three cities east of the Jordan which Moses separated, 'that the manslayers might flee thither': the original law of Deuteronomy (ch. xix.) also mentions three such cities, but they are to be provided after the conquest of west Canaan and three more are to be added, if Yahweh enlarges the territory of Israel: it makes no allusion to cities already provided east of Jordan. An examination of the language confirms the conclusion that Deut. i.—iv. 44 is by a later Deuteronomist. Kuenen has pointed out (*Onderz.* i. § 7. 16) that the resemblances in language and thought are many and close, but that they are accompanied by considerable differences, and that the younger writer is inferior to his master in originality and vigour.

When the text of the Deuteronomical writings is given, it will be shown that, at the end of the book of Deuteronomy and throughout the book of Joshua, the later Deuteronomists have been at work. We shall find the characteristic phrases which make it easy to detect the Deuteronomical style. We shall also find that conception of a sacred law to which the Deuteronomist gave a new prominence, asserting itself with undiminished strength. It is the standard by which all the history of Israel is judged. The charge to Joshua in the first chapter of the Book of Joshua strikes the key-note of the history as revised by the

Deuteronomists: 'Only be strong and very courageous to observe to do according to all the law which Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest have good success, whithersoever thou goest. This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night,' etc.¹

(c) *The 'Priestly Writer.'*

The Jahvist and the Elohist were historians, or rather collectors of national myths and legends, which passed for history. The Deuteronomist is the apostle of law, warmed and animated by the spirit of prophetic piety. The 'Priestly Writer' is at once historian (if we consent to use the word in its widest and lowest sense) and legislator. But his history is all constructed with a view to the legislation: sometimes, indeed, his stories are mere pegs on which a law is hung. And his legislation is almost wholly religious. His code is not adapted for a nation with its varied interests, but for a 'congregation,' or, as we should now say, 'a church.' Lastly, his religion consists, not of course wholly, but still in a large degree, of ritual: the ritual requires a priest, and to the priests he gives an eminence and importance utterly unknown to the other documents in the Hexateuch.

His history from the creation to the settlement of Jacob and his family in Egypt runs parallel with that of the 'Oldest Book.' But how different is his narrative! For natural growth, we have a systematic order and chronology. The subject-matter is arranged in ten sections, marked off by the words, 'These are the genera-

¹ It is generally admitted, notwithstanding Wellhausen's objections, that Deut. v.—xi., and the purely legislative portion xii. *seq.*, are by the same hand, though perhaps v.—xi. may be a later addition by the author of xii. *seq.* On the other hand, although Dillmann attributes the greater part of i.—iv. 44 to the original Deuteronomist, he allows that in their present form these chapters are not his work.

tions,¹ viz., of 'the heavens and the earth,' of Adam, of Noah, of Noah's sons, of Shem, of Terah (Abram's father), of Ishmael, of Isaac, of Esau, of Jacob. In this history, as compared with that of the Jahvist and Elohist, we lose much where the loss may in a certain sense count for gain. We miss the gross anthropomorphism; we miss those particulars in the lives of the patriarchs which offend the moral sense. Abraham and Isaac do not, by their cowardice, place the honour of their wives in peril: we hear nothing of Sarah's cruel jealousy against Hagar, of the strife between Leah and Rachel, of the incest of Lot's daughters or of Tamar, of Dinah's dishonour. There is peace in the patriarchal families: Abraham and Lot, Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau, part on friendly terms. At the same time all that is life-like and pathetic is gone also; instead of flesh and blood we have dry bones. In place of myth and legend we have systematic plan. The author begins with the origin of mankind, and gradually parts with extraneous elements till he fixes our attention on the chosen line. He has an elaborate scheme of chronology: he tells us how old a patriarch was when he begot his eldest son, how old he was when he died, and the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt is summed up as 430 years. Throughout, the author has his eye on the gradual process of revelation. Nothing grows: all comes by direct institution on the part of God. The patriarchs do not know the name of Yahweh: much less do they offer sacrifice. How could they? God had not taught them the appointed rites. And where were they to sacrifice? There was no 'tent

¹ Or (once) 'This is the book of the generations' (Gen. v. 1). The form recurs Num. iii. 1, 'These are the generations of Aaron.' Thus, we have the 'generations' of the heavens and the earth, of Adam, of Noah, of the sons of Noah, of Shem, of Terah, of Ishmael, of Isaac, of Esau, of Jacob, and finally of Aaron. The omission of Abraham's 'generations' is remarkable. Probably, the 'Priestly Writer' did give the 'generations' of Abraham in Gen. xii., but the title was omitted by the final editor of the Hexateuch, who at the beginning of Gen. xii. abandons the 'Priestly Writer' and follows the narrative of the Jahvist. (So Ewald, Knobel, Dillmann, Wellhausen.)

of meeting,' no ark. They are, however, instructed little by little, the very lights are set in the heavens for 'times'—*i.e.* that they may, when the occasion comes, determine the Jewish מועדים or sacred times. So also the seventh day is sanctified by God from the first: he rests on the seventh day from the work of creation. Then the process of instruction begins. Adam is allowed to eat grain and fruits. Noah (Gen. ix. 1-17) is allowed to eat flesh, but the prohibition against eating blood is introduced. A covenant is made with him on these conditions. Another covenant is made with Abram, and the sign of it is circumcision—a sign so indispensable that he who neglects it is to be 'cut off from his people' (Gen. xvii.). Where the dry chronological scheme is expanded into anything like narrative, the object is to explain the divine origin of Israel's holy institutions.¹ Side by side with this stands an account of the way in which God separates the holy seed and keeps it pure, and provides for its still distant future. Isaac is not to take a Canaanite wife (Gen. xxviii. 1-9), and his father Abraham buys a piece of land from the children of Heth; it is but a family tomb; yet it inaugurates the settlement of the chosen people in the land of promise (Gen. xxiii.).

The writer naturally speaks with greater fulness, when he reaches the centre of his subject, in the divine commission of Moses. The sacred name of Yahweh, unknown to the fathers, is revealed to him; and this is followed a little later by the institution of the Paschal rite, which saves Israel from the destroying angel and preserves it as the people of Yahweh (Exod. vi. 3-12; vii. 1-7; xii. 1-20, 28, 37^a, 40, 41, 43-51). On their way to Sinai the people are prepared for the future observance of the Sabbath

¹ This point deserves special attention. Had the 'Priestly' document been no more than a manual for priests, we might believe with Dillmann that it 'remained as a matter of course in private hands without royal or public sanction, and only in sacerdotal circles.' But really the 'Priestly Writer' strives to establish his own idea of the theocracy, and the private circulation of his book among the priests would not have served his purpose. This aim of the book is well stated by Wurster, *Zur Charakteristik u. Geschichte d. Priestercodex u. Heiligkeitgesetzes*, *Z. A. T. W.* 1884, p. 112 *seq.*

by the miracle of the manna ; it falls in double quantity on the sixth day, and not at all on the seventh. At Sinai, Yahweh declares his mind fully by the promulgation of the law. First, a place of sacrifice is provided by the long and minute instructions which Yahweh gives on the construction of the tabernacle and its furniture, the making of the priestly vestments, etc., besides directions for the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood (Exod. xxv.—xxx.). Then, with intolerable pedantry, though it is the successors of the ' Priestly Writer ' and his school, rather than the ' Priestly Writer ' himself, who are responsible for it—the same details are repeated, mostly word for word, and we are told in Exod. xxxv.—xl. how Moses carried out the directions of Yahweh. The tabernacle is built, and the glory of Yahweh fills it.

After a series of laws on the different kinds of sacrifice (Lev. i.—vii.) we have in Lev. viii.—ix. the consecration of Aaron and his sons. They offer the first lawful sacrifices, and Yahweh manifests his acceptance of them by sending fire from heaven upon the altar. The story of Nadab and Abihu follows in Lev. x., as a warning against any deviation from the appointed ritual. The order of thought is now interrupted by a series of laws (Lev. xi.—xv.) on uncleanness, unclean food, sexual uncleanness, leprosy of the body, of garments, of houses, etc., and by the institution of the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi.). Additional interruption arises from the fact that in Lev. xvii.—xxvi. we have a separate code, the ' Law of Holiness,' so called because it puts special stress on the ' holiness ' required of Israel. This little code agrees with the spirit of the ' Priestly Writer,' but agrees with differences. It begins, *e.g.*, by requiring the flesh of all oxen, sheep and goats to be offered at the sanctuary, whereas the ' Priestly Writer ' regards the eating of flesh without sacrifice as lawful, and sanctioned by Yahweh in the covenant with Noah. Besides, this little code repeats laws already given by the ' Priestly Writer ' in an earlier part of the Pentateuch, and the conclusion, in ch. xxvi., with threats and blessings shows that it once stood by itself, though it has been edited and altered by the ' Priestly Writer,' who took it as his model and in-

corporated it in his own fuller work. The thread of connection is resumed in Num. i.—x. 28. This is not the place to discuss the primary sections and the later additions in these chapters. This much is plain. The 'Priestly Writer' had related the erection of the tabernacle, the consecration and first sacrifices of the priests. He had not spoken of the subordinate ministers in the sanctuary. This he now does. The people are numbered and the Levites are chosen. They are to camp round the tabernacle, and so to avert Yahweh's wrath from the rest of the Israelites. They are to serve the priests; their duties are carefully regulated, and they are consecrated to their office. The absolute separation of the common Israelites from Levitical duties and of the Levites from all priestly office is enforced by the story of Korah and his revolt (Num. xvi.—xvii.). Provision is made (Num. xviii.) for the support of priests and Levites. Aaron dies, and his son Eleazar is installed in his place (Num. xx. 22-29), while Phinehas, Eleazar's son, is rewarded for his zeal against the Midianites by the 'covenant of an everlasting priesthood' (Num. xxv. 6-15). Afterwards we have provision for the law of inheritance in defect of male heirs, for the appointment of a successor to Moses, and for the division of Canaan. Moses dies, and Joshua is confirmed in his place as the civil leader and ruler of Israel (Num. xxvii.; parts of xxxii., xxxiv.; Deut. xxxiv. 8, 9).

The 'Priestly Writer' assumes, as he might have been expected to do, that the land was wholly and completely subdued under Joshua: of the more historical view found in the Jahvist, that the conquest was gradual, and that the tribes of Israel fought separately, because national union was still unknown, he has not the faintest idea. But over and above this, he is faithful here, as throughout, to the priestly idea. The land is divided to the tribes by lot. The lot is cast at Shiloh, where the sanctuary rests for the time, and the matter is directed by Eleazar the priest and Joshua and by the heads of the tribes, Eleazar's name standing first (Josh. xviii. 1; xiv. 1-5). Besides the cities of refuge, we have in xxi. 1-40 the list of the priestly and Levitical cities.

We may now turn to the most salient points of difference between the 'Priestly' law and the other codes.

In the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' there are many places of sacrifice, and these places, or at least some of them, were hallowed by the sacrifices of the patriarchs. The Deuteronomical code leaves the past alone, but insists with reiteration that after the settlement in Canaan sacrifice may be offered at one place only, and that a place specially chosen by Yahweh. The 'Priestly Writer' does not (except in the 'Laws of Holiness,' Lev. xvii.—xxvi.) insist on one place of sacrifice. He takes it for granted. He carries back this one place of sacrifice to the beginning of national life under Moses, and does not admit that the patriarchs sacrificed at all. Sacrifice pleasing to Yahweh was impossible till the tabernacle was set up.

The 'Priestly Writer' prescribes an elaborate ritual for the offering of sacrifice, and he gives great prominence to the sin and trespass offerings, which are never mentioned in the rest of the Hexateuch.

In the 'Book of the Covenant' and in Deuteronomy we have three annual feasts; in the 'Priestly' code (Lev. xxiii.; Num. xxviii.) we have seven 'holy convocations,' the Sabbath, New Moon, Passover, with the feast of unleavened bread, Feast of Weeks, New Moon of the seventh month, Day of Atonement, Tabernacles. These feasts are accompanied by public—some of them by most elaborate public—sacrifices, and the annual feasts are fixed for certain days of the month. The other legislators do not make the least reference to the day of atonement. It should also be observed that the year of jubilee with its elaborate regulations (Lev. xxv.) is peculiar to the 'Priestly' code. The 'Priestly Writer' makes the sharpest distinction between 'the priests the sons of Aaron' and the Levites, and regards any intrusion of mere Levites into the priestly office as the most appalling sacrilege. Such a priesthood is unknown to the rest of the Hexateuch. The Deuteronomist speaks habitually of 'the priests the Levites,' 'the priests the sons of Levi,' and Deut. xviii. 1 proves that he regarded

all Levites as priests. The name and conception of the 'High Priest' are also peculiar to the 'Priestly Writer,' who clothes him with a sanctity and a dignity of the most distinctive character. The common priests minister 'in his presence' (Num. iii. 4). He alone wears the mysterious Urim and Thummim (Exod. xxviii. 30; contrast Deut. xxxiii. 8); he alone may enter the Holy of Holies and offer incense there (Lev. xvi.); his trespass brings guilt on the whole people, and is removed by the same sacrifices which are offered for the people collectively (Lev. iv. 3 *seq.*, 13 *seq.*). He is anointed like a king, wears the purple and the diadem (Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16; Exod. xxviii.), and his death marks the close of an epoch, and is therefore an occasion of amnesty for past transgression (Num. xxxv. 28).

The 'Priestly' code makes large provision for the income of the priests and Levites, and here also it stands alone. Instead of being consumed by the offerer in sacrificial feasts to which the Levites are merely admitted as guests, instead of being distributed every third year among the needy, of whom the Levites form only one class, the tithes of vegetable (Num. xviii. 21-32) and of animal (Lev. xxvii. 32 *seq.*) produce are given over absolutely to the Levites, who in turn must give a tithe of their tithe to the priests (Num. xviii. 21-32). The priests are to receive the firstborn of animals fit for sacrifice: they and their families are to eat the flesh, after the blood has been sprinkled and the fat burnt on the altar: in the case of animals unfit for sacrifice, they are to have an equivalent in money, besides a redemption fee for the firstborn of men (Num. xviii. 15-18; Lev. xxvii. 26, 27). The priest has a right to the skin of burnt-offerings (Lev. vii. 8), the right thigh and the breast of private thank-offerings (Lev. vii. 30 *seq.*; contrast Deut. xviii. 3), the whole flesh of public thank-offerings (Lev. xxiii. 20), and the whole flesh of sin and trespass offerings (Lev. vi. 18—vii. 7), save in a few exceptional cases. These enactments, to which others might be added, provide for the priests and Levites with a liberality far beyond that of the Deuteronomist. But this is not all: whereas the Deu-

teronomist represents the Levitical priests as wholly dependent on their share in the sacrifices and the charity of the Israelites, the 'Priestly' code gives the clergy fixed territorial possessions. The priests and Levites own forty-eight cities with pasture land round each, measuring 2000 ells each way. If sold, the possession of the Levite in his own city must be restored at the year of jubilee (Num. xxxv. 1-8 ; Josh. xxi. 2-42 ; Lev. xxv. 32-34).

The language of the 'Priestly Writer' is exceedingly marked, and is always easily recognised. For example, he says, 'Paddan Aram,' not, like the other writers, 'Aram of the two rivers' (ארם נהרים) ; to establish or to give a covenant' (נתן ברית or הקים) never ברת ברית, which latter form means literally to 'cut a covenant.' He loves such formulæ as, 'according to their generations,' 'in the self-same day,' 'according to their kinds' (למינהם) etc. 'land of their sojournings,' 'to be fruitful and multiply.' He uses הוליד for 'beget,' not ילד, he speaks of 'male and female' (זכר ונקבה) not (איש ואשה), he calls ownership of land אחוזה (not נחלה or ירשה), he uses 'humbling the soul' as a periphrasis for 'fasting.' He uses the technical word 'create' instead of 'make' ; he avoids speaking of God's wrath by the old Hebrew phrase 'his nose was inflamed' (חרה אפו), but simply says that God 'was angry' (קצף). Like the Deuteronomist he recognises cities of refuge for the involuntary homicide ; but whereas the Deuteronomist describes their purpose at length, the 'Priestly Writer' has a technical expression and calls them 'cities of refuge' (ערי מקלט). He employs the formula, 'that soul shall be cut off from its people,' which in him corresponds to the Deuteronomical phrase, 'Thou shalt put away [or exterminate] the evil from the midst of thee.' Of course this scanty selection gives a most imperfect idea of the strong peculiarities in the style of the 'Priestly Writer.' Yet even these examples, when carefully examined, would suffice to establish his literary independence. The phrase, 'That soul shall be cut off' etc., occurs in him fifteen times ; we meet with it in Genesis (xvii. 14) as well as in those portions of the 'Priestly' document which form the 'Priestly' code of law in the strict sense : it is not found

once in Deuteronomy, or indeed in the rest of the Hebrew Bible. He calls a tribe **מטה** more than 140 times: the Deuteronomist never uses this word but employs one quite different. The 'Priestly Writer' uses **אחזה** for 'possession' about forty times, **נע** 'to expire' ten times, **מנרש** 'the pasture round a city' sixty-two times, **תולדות** 'generations' twenty-nine times, **קרבן** 'sacrificial oblation' about eighty times, **עדה** 'the congregation' about 100 times. These are words for common notions, and no one can suppose it to be accidental that they occur so often in the 'Priestly Writer' and never at all in the Deuteronomist. So marked is the 'Priestly' style that there is seldom any difficulty in recognising it. For instance, the continuity of the 'Priestly' document as it stands in the Pentateuch is broken by the insertion of Deuteronomy with its long speeches and rhetorical legislation. However, at the end of Deut., viz., in xxxii. 48-52, we find verses which form the natural sequel of the 'Priestly' document in Numbers and are evidently connected with it (compare especially Num. xxvii. 12-14). If, then, we are induced by consideration of the subject-matter to refer this little section to the 'Priestly Writer,' we may expect to find the stamp of his style. This is just what we do find. In these few verses we have 'that self-same day,' **אחזה** for 'possession,' 'this mountain of Abarim to mount Nebo' (not Pisgah, as in the Deuteronomist).

§ 3—THE DATE OF THE DOCUMENTS.

(a) *The Deuteronomical Code first written about the eighteenth year of Josiah, i.e. about 621 B.C.*

This date, as at least approximate, is now accepted by all competent critics, and is the fixed point from which all other points in the chronology of the Hexateuch must be determined. The date of Deuteronomy is ascertained chiefly on the following grounds.

In 2 Kings xxii., xxiii. we are told that in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign (B.C. 621 or 622), Hilkiah the priest said to

Shaphan the chancellor, 'I have found the book of the torah [*i.e.* 'instruction,' and so 'law'] in the house of Yahweh.' Shaphan carried the book to the king, and read it in his hearing. The king was deeply moved, so much so that he rent his clothes. He then read it before the whole people, and on the terms of this 'book of the covenant' (2 Kings xxiii. 2), king and people made a covenant with Yahweh, 'to walk after Yahweh and to keep his commandments and his testimonies and his statutes with all his heart and all his soul.' Thereupon Josiah inaugurated a religious reform. He purified the temple of the vessels that were made, 'for Baal, for the Asherah, and for all the host of heaven,' and 'put down' the priests connected with sun and star worship. Next, he destroyed all the shrines of Yahweh except the temple at Jerusalem, and in particular he devastated the Bamoth or high places where Yahweh was worshipped, including the old sanctuary of Yahweh at Bethel. Thirdly, he kept a passover, 'as it was written in this book of the covenant.' No such passover, says the historian, had been held under previous kings.

What was this book called 'the book of the law,' and again, 'the book of the covenant,' to which Josiah gave public authority? It cannot have been the whole Pentateuch. It would have been a sheer impossibility to read the Pentateuch or even the legal portions of the Pentateuch through, aloud, in one day: much less could it have been read twice in one day. Besides, the Pentateuch as a whole never calls itself a 'book of the covenant.' Nor, again, can the 'Book of the Covenant' contained in Exod. xx. 22—xxiii. be that meant. That book recognises freedom of sacrifice at many places (Exod. xx. 24-26), says no word about the unlawfulness of the 'high places,' and could not, therefore, supply the programme for Josiah's reform. But the kernel of Deuteronomy (*i.e.* Deut. iv. 45—xxvi., or possibly xii.—xxvi.; xxvii. 9, 10; xxviii.; xxxi. 9-13) exactly meets the required conditions. It could be read through aloud in between three and four hours at most: it expressly claims to give 'the words of the covenant' between Yahweh and Israel (xxviii. 69; compare v. 1, 2; xxvi.

17-19): it insists, as no other document does, on the wickedness of offering sacrifice except at the one chosen place, so that it alone explains the character of Josiah's reform. Josiah burnt the Asherahs and sacred pillars; abolished sun and star worship, and the practice of passing children through the fire: he rid the land of sorcery and witchcraft. All these things are denounced in Deuteronomy (xii. 2-6; xvi. 21, 22; xviii. 9-15; xvii. 3). The king, we are told, rent his garments, and, indeed, the awful threats in Deut. xxviii. might well make him tremble. Evidently, too, the historian in the book of Kings understood that it was the Deuteronomical law which was read to Josiah and which produced so remarkable a revolution. For he describes the covenant by which the people pledge themselves to 'walk after Yahweh' etc. (see above) in phrases which occur over and over again in the book of Deuteronomy itself (*e.g.* vi. 5; viii. 6, 11; x. 12, 13).

In its main features the story told in Kings is quite credible, and we shall see presently that it is corroborated by independent evidence. But if the Deuteronomical code was found in Josiah's reign, when was it written? Had it been long lost, and was it only recovered in B.C. 621?

On the face of the matter such loss is wellnigh inconceivable. How could a book claiming divine authority, a rule of national religion, which was to be read in the ears of the assembled people every seven years, and on which the king was to meditate continually, perish out of sight? And how comes it that the historian gives no account of the book's former history, no hint that Josiah, or even Hilkiah, had ever heard of it before?

But we need not dwell on mere probabilities. A chief object of the Deuteronomist is to insist on the one place of sacrifice. Now we can imagine that such a law, had it existed, might have been neglected by heretical or self-willed Israelites. But how can we explain the fact that the best servants of Yahweh are apparently quite ignorant of the law in question? Samuel offers sacrifice at Mizpah (1 Sam. vii. 9), builds an altar at Ramah (1 Sam. vii. 17), holds a sacrificial feast on a 'high place' there

and later at Bethlehem (1 Sam. ix. 12; xvi. 4 *seq.*); sacrifices are offered in Samuel's presence at Gilgal (1 Sam. xi. 15), and there Saul sacrifices at Samuel's bidding (1 Sam. x. 8; xiii. 9); David's family sacrifice at Bethlehem (1 Sam. xx. 29), and Absalom with David's leave at Hebron (2 Sam. xv. 7); Solomon early in his reign sacrifices at Gibeon, where there was a 'great high place' (1 Kings iii. 4); and the kings of Judah, not excepting the most pious, Asa (1 Kings xv. 14), Jehoshaphat (xxii. 44), Joash (2 Kings xii. 3, 4), Amaziah (xiv. 4), Uzziah (xv. 4), Jotham (xv. 34, 35), Ahaz (xvi. 4), maintained the 'high places.' Elijah sacrificed at Carmel, and Yahweh, so the legend ran, instead of disapproving, sent fire from heaven to consume the sacrifice (1 Kings xviii. 38). The literary prophets of the eighth century, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah,¹ make no protest against the worship on the 'high places.' At last, Hezekiah (B.C. 725-697, or, according to Kamphausen, 714-686) is said (2 Kings xviii. 4) to have 'removed the high places.' The statement may be founded on fact (compare xviii. 22); but Hezekiah, so far as we learn from the book of Kings, made no appeal to a written law, and thus the fact, if it be a fact, is proof that he had never heard of Deuteronomy.

Deuteronomy everywhere limits the priesthood to the tribe of

¹ The prophets earlier than Jeremiah denounce image-worship, and regard all the sacrificial worship coldly, but they make no objection to the high places as such. Micah i. 5 may seem to be an exception: 'What is the transgression of Jacob? Is it not Samaria? And what are the high places of Judah? Are they not Jerusalem?' So the passage stands in the common text, but the latter part of it is senseless. We can understand that Samaria the capital was responsible for the sins of the northern kingdom. But it is hard to make any sense of the statement that Jerusalem was identical with the rival shrines in the rest of Judah. The true reading as retained in the LXX., the Peshitto, and the Targum, has some slight support in the Hebrew MSS., and at once commends itself as sense and poetry:

'Through the transgression of Jacob is all this,
And through the sins of the house of Israel.
What is the transgression of Jacob? Is it not Samaria?
And what are the sins of Judah? Are they not Jerusalem?'

See Roorda's Commentary, and, on the other side, Ryssel *Textgestalt u. Echtheit des Buches Micha*.

Levi. No doubt, from ancient times (Judges xvii. 13) Levites were the favourite priests. But priestly functions, and even the priestly office, were by no means limited to them. The heroes of Israel, whatever their tribe, offered sacrifice throughout the whole period of the judges. Samuel, the minister of the sanctuary, was in the strictest sense a priest (see particularly 1 Sam. vii.), yet he was not a Levite but an Ephraimite (1 Sam. i. 1); Saul (1 Sam. xiii. 9), David (2 Sam. vi. 17; xxiv. 18 *seq.*), Solomon (1 Kings iii. 4; viii. 62-64) offered sacrifice as a matter of course, and in their place as head and representative of the nation. David's sons were priests, and Ira, not a Levite, but from the clan of Jair in Manasseh, was a royal chaplain at David's court (2 Sam. viii. 18; xx. 26).

A number of details confirm the conclusion that Deuteronomy cannot have been written long before 621. In Deut. xvii. 8-13 reference is made to a supreme court 'at the place which Yahweh thy God shall choose,' *i.e.* at Jerusalem. There justice was to be administered by a [secular] judge and a board of Levites. No such court is known in the early history of the kingdom, but the chronicler (2 Chron. xix. 8) ascribes the institution of a similar court to Jehoshaphat. The Deuteronomist warns the people against star-worship (Deut. xvii. 3). This form of idolatry was introduced under Assyrian and Babylonian influence during the eighth century B.C. (2 Kings xvii. 16; xxiii. 5, 12). It was strong when Josiah began his reform, and it is the prophets of Josiah's time, Zephaniah (i. 5), and Jeremiah (viii. 2; xix. 13; vii. 18; xlv. 17), who denounce it. This star-worship is never mentioned in any other portion of the Hexateuch, or in any Hebrew author older than those just quoted. No author earlier than Josiah shows any acquaintance with Deuteronomy: after that date proofs of such knowledge abound. The Hebrew is, as Dillmann and others have shown, that of the seventh century, and the style, no less than the theology, of the Deuteronomist closely resembles that of Jeremiah. It is no less certain that the Deuteronomist lived some considerable time before the Babylonian exile of B.C. 586.

Otherwise he would not have threatened the Israelites with exile in Egypt (xxviii. 68). Here we have a genuine attempt at prediction—an attempt which failed. The examination of the later additions to Deuteronomy will be reserved for the second part of this work in which the text of Deuteronomy will be given. Kuenen distinguishes (1) additions made while the Deuteronomical code formed a book by itself, viz. Deut. i.—iv. 40 [? 44], xxxi. 1-8, and perhaps xxix., xxx.; (2) additions made in the Deuteronomical spirit and style after the Deuteronomical law was united with the ‘Oldest Book of Hebrew History.’ The former were written, as he thinks, at least as late as the beginning of the Babylonian captivity, in B.C. 597. The latter he is inclined to place some time before the return from the Exile in B.C. 536. But of this more hereafter.

(b) *The Date of the ‘Oldest Book of Hebrew History.’*

No one doubts that the Jahvist and Elohist wrote long before the Deuteronomist, *i.e.* before 621. The proofs of this priority are not far to seek. We have seen that Deuteronomy was the programme of a religious reform, one prominent feature of which consisted in the destruction of the ‘high places’ and the limitation of sacrifice to the temple at Jerusalem. Now, neither the Jahvist nor the Elohist has so much as a presentiment of this revolution for which history had been silently preparing the way long before 621. Both dwell with enthusiasm on the old shrines of Israel, and the legends by which they were hallowed in the mind of the pious Israelite. They show no sign of acquaintance with any other view. Moreover, as will appear later, the Deuteronomist derives his knowledge of Israel’s legendary story chiefly from the Elohist; and his code is often no more than an expansion and amendment of the laws contained in the ‘Book of the Covenant.’ To this book he makes no explicit reference, but he borrows from it none the less, and that with great freedom.

We are compelled, then, to carry the Jahvist and Elohist back before 621 B.C. How much further back may we go? No certain and precise answer can be given. Still we may fix the limit approximately. Prophecy is an old institution in Israel, but the early prophets made, so far as is known, no use of the pen. The earliest literary prophet is Amos, who began his work between 760 and 750 B.C. It is probable that Amos marks the beginning of prose literature among the Hebrews. We say 'probable,' for we cannot, of course, be certain that Hebrew historians did not write at an earlier date. On the whole, however, it seems reasonable to suppose that the earlier prophets, Elijah, Elisha, and even Jonah,¹ did not write, because the thought of prose composition was strange to them. In that case the oldest literature of the Hebrews consisted, like the literature of most other nations, in songs, some of which are preserved in their 'Oldest Book of History.' Accordingly, we may place the work of the historians themselves in the beginning of the eighth century B.C. or thereabouts.

How much further back than 621 B.C. must we go to fix the dates of Jahvist and Elohist? Here signs of acquaintance with the Jahvist or Elohist in the prophets would be the surest criterion. However, great caution is needed. Nothing, for example, can be built on the fact that Amos refers (ii. 10; v. 25) to the forty years of wandering in the wilderness or reproaches Edom (i. 11) because he has 'pursued his brother with the sword . . . and kept his rage continually.' Here, no doubt, we have allusions which prove that certain legends were current in the eighth century B.C., and were familiar both to Amos and to the early historians. We have no warrant for any further inference.

It is different with Hosea. In xii. 4 *seq.*, 13 *seq.*, he writes thus: 'In the womb he [Jacob] took his brother by the heel, and in his manly strength he strove with God: yea, he had power

¹ Jonah, it must be remembered, is an historical character, though the book which goes by his name is of very late origin. He lived under Jeroboam II., 786-746 B.C. (2 Kings xiv. 25).

over the angel and prevailed. . . . He found him at Bethel, and there he spoke with him [read עמו]. . . . Jacob fled to the field of Aram and Israel served for a wife.' The resemblance not only to the ideas but to the language of the Jahvist excludes all reasonable doubt that Hosea had read his work. Compare Gen. xxv. 26^a, xxvii. 43, xxxii. 25-33 (Jahvist passages) and xxix. 18 (Elohist). We may be sure, then, that Hosea was acquainted at least with the Jahvistic work, and consequently that work existed before Hosea wrote—*i.e.* at least before 735 B.C. This point being fixed, it is of less importance that in Hosea ix. 10 there may be an allusion to Num. xxv. 1-5; that Isaiah (iii. 9) followed an account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah similar to that of the Jahvist (Gen. xix. 4 *seq.*); and that a prophecy which goes under the name of Micah (vi. 4 *seq.*); but which is attributed with better reason to the age of Manasseh, shows, apparently, knowledge of Num. xxii. 2—xxiv. It is scarcely possible to make the result already obtained with regard to the date of the Jahvist either more certain or more definite by examining the historical allusions which occur in his work. Sometimes these historical allusions are themselves doubtful, sometimes they are found in passages which may belong either to the Jahvist or Elohist. It seems, however, safe to see in Gen. xxvii. 40 *seq.* an allusion to the rebellion of the Edomites against Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat. (2 Kings viii. 20). This would prove the Jahvist's familiarity with events which happened about the middle of the ninth century B.C., and so far confirms the opinion given as to his own date.

It is absolutely certain that the Elohist wrote before 722 B.C. In that year the northern kingdom fell, whereas the Elohist presupposes the existence of the northern kingdom, to which, as has been said, he clearly belonged, and in which he manifests exclusive interest. For the rest, we have but scanty data for determining the Elohist's date. We may compare him with the Jahvist, and inquire which bears marks of earlier origin. Unfortunately, however, this is still one of the most vexed questions in the criticism of the Hexateuch. If we consider the much grosser

anthropomorphism of the Jahvist, the more refined views of the Elohist, and the greater prominence which he gives to prophetic and prophetic ideas, the scale seems to turn in favour of the Jahvist's priority. Again, the Elohist's theory that the name Yahweh was revealed at a special time looks less simple, more learned, less antique than the Jahvist's assumption that the name was always known. No doubt we may argue, with Dillmann and others, that the Elohist wrote in the north, which was the cradle of Hebrew literature, and that the legends were modified by the Jahvist, a Judæan, in the interest of Judah. But then it may be held with just as much plausibility that the Jahvist was a northern Israelite, with a large-hearted interest—an interest which is quite conceivable—in the Hebrew race as a whole. In that case, the Elohist may have altered the legends with a view of suiting them better to the taste of his countrymen in the north.

From what has been said, the reader will perceive that we are fairly well informed about the date of the Jahvist, and have to fix, if we can fix, the date of the Elohist by his relations to the Jahvist, which relations are keenly disputed. Yet, after all, the margin left to conjecture is not very wide. We may claim a general consensus of critics for the view that both Jahvist and Elohist wrote between 850 and 750 B.C.¹

(c) *The Date of the 'Priestly Writer.'*

The Book of Nehemiah viii.—x. relates that in 444 B.C. Ezra the scribe 'brought forth' the book of the law. It was read in the assembly of the people at Jerusalem, and they pledged themselves to observe it. It would take more space than we can

¹ Stade and Dillmann may be fairly taken as representing the extremes of radical and conservative criticism. Stade places the origin of the Jahvist between 850 and 800 B.C., and that of the Elohist about 750 B.C. Dillmann places the Elohist in the former half of the ninth century B.C., and the Jahvist about the middle of the eighth.

afford, to prove the credibility of this account, nor need we do so, for that is now generally granted. It is also clear that the law to which the people bound themselves included the chief part of the 'Priestly' document. The people kept the feast of Tabernacles for eight days (Lev. xxiii. 39; contrast Deut. xvi. 13-15): they undertook to provide for the 'continual burnt offering,' sin offerings, the shewbread: tithes were to be collected by the Levites under the supervision of 'the priest the son of Aaron,' and the Levites in turn were to pay tithe to the priests. In all these particulars the reform of Ezra implies the 'Priestly' law, and is unintelligible unless that law be presupposed. In short, the reform of Ezra and Nehemiah stands to the 'Priestly' law, precisely as Josiah's reform stands to the law of Deuteronomy. Therefore as early as 444 B.C. the 'Priestly' legislation and the narrative portions of the Hexateuch which are indissolubly connected with it were accepted by the mass of the Jews as the law given by God to Moses.

This much is not controverted. But when was the law, enforced by Nehemiah and Ezra, written? Here it is that Biblical scholars of the present day differ most widely. Dillmann and others contend that the 'Priestly' document is much older than Deuteronomy, and may belong to the middle of the ninth century B.C. The school of Graf (Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, etc.), on the contrary, believe that the 'Priestly' law is much later than Deuteronomy, and may be assigned to the time of Ezra or thereabouts. The following, among other reasons, demonstrate, as I think, the correctness of the later date.

The 'Priestly Writer,' in Lev. xvii. 3-9, represents Yahweh as charging the Israelites to bring all their sacrifices to 'the door of the tent of meeting.' He who offers sacrifice anywhere else is to be 'cut off from his people.' Elsewhere it is taken for granted that there must be, and always has been, one only place of sacrifice. Now it is the great object of Deuteronomy to insist that Yahweh will have only one place of sacrifice. Nothing could have served his purpose better than a reference to

the fact that a similar law had existed from the beginning. Instead of this, he admits that, while in the wilderness, the Israelites did what they pleased in this respect, but that after their settlement in Canaan they were to sacrifice only 'in the place which Yahweh your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there.' Evidently the Deuteronomist had never heard of the 'Priestly' law. He is striving to secure unity in the place of sacrifice. When the 'Priestly Writer' took pen in hand, this unity was an accomplished fact, and he could without misgiving place its origination in Mosaic times, and make it coeval with the institution of sacrifice itself.

The 'Priestly Writer' makes the sharpest distinction between the 'priests the sons of Aaron' and the Levites. The latter may not enter the sanctuary or touch the sacred vessels; much less may they act as priests by offering sacrifice. Deuteronomy absolutely identifies priests and Levites. The distinction must be later than the Deuteronomist, because no hint of it appears in any writer previous to the Exile.¹ Ezekiel, however, throws a light on the whole matter which enables us to trace the way in which the exclusive rights of the Aaronical priests arose. Ezekiel writing in the Exile, when his people, as he believed, were paying the penalty of their past idolatry, framed a law of ritual which was to protect his country against such aberrations for

¹ Two passages may be quoted to show that the distinction between priests and Levites was recognised at least towards the close of the Exile. In one case the text is certainly, in the other (which belongs at earliest to the very close of the Exile) probably, corrupt; and thus, instead of weakening, they greatly strengthen the belief that the distinction between priests and Levites was unknown before the Exile. The passages in question are 1 Kings viii. 4, Isaiah lxvi. 21. It will perhaps be best to quote two learned and candid scholars, both strongly opposed to the view advocated in the text, and free, therefore, from all suspicion of bias. 'The Book of Kings,' says Baudissin (*A. T. Priesterthum*, p. 213) 'speaks only once of Levites [as distinct from priests] viz. in Book i. viii. 3, 4: "And all the elders of Israel came, and the priests took up the ark. And they brought up the ark of Yahweh and the tent of meeting, and all the holy vessels that were in the tent, and the priests and Levites brought them up." But it has been justly remarked that ver. 4 excites suspicion of being interpolated, because (apart from the mention of the tent

the future. This law, which in many details and in its general spirit, anticipated the 'Priestly' legislation, was never carried out, but it has fortunately been preserved in Ezek. xl.—xlvi. Ezekiel, like the Deuteronomist, still holds to the form 'the priests the Levites,' but he adds a qualification which changes the whole matter, 'the priests the Levites who are of the seed of Zadok, who are near to me, to minister to me' (xliii. 19). A little earlier (xl. 46) he had said: 'The chamber which faces north is for the priests who keep the charge of the altar: these are the sons of Zadok, who draw near from among the sons of Levi to Yahweh to minister to him.' Why does Ezekiel make this difference between the family of Zadok and the other Levites? He gives us the reason with all possible clearness. He says (xliv. 10-16) that the Levites generally 'went astray,' and 'became a stumbling-block of iniquity to the house of Israel.' 'Therefore I have lifted up my hand against them; it is the oracle of the Lord Yahweh, and they shall bear [the punishment of] their iniquity: and they shall not come near to me to perform the office of priest to me, or to come near any of my holy things, the things that are most holy, and they shall bear their shame . . . I have appointed them keepers of the charge of the house for all its service.' This, then, was the later history of the Levites. The Deuteronomist recognises the inherent right of all Levites to the priestly office. Still, by abolishing the local sanctuaries, he did as a matter of fact

of meeting) the last words "and the priests and Levites brought them up" are both awkward and superfluous, and because the mention of the Levites should have been made in ver. 3, since, according to the 'Priestly Writer' (Num. iii. 31), it was just the office of the Levites to bear the ark.' In Isaiah lxvi. 21, the words of the received Hebrew text are, 'And of them also will I take for priests for Levites,' or rather perhaps for [*i.e.* as servants for] the priests for the Levites. Whichever rendering be adopted, the expressions 'priests' and 'Levites' are here synonymous. The ancient versions and most of the best Hebrew mss. read 'for priests and levites,' but both Dillmann (*Isaiah*, p. 542) and Baudissin (p. 249 *seq.*) rightly regard this reading as the correction of a scribe familiar with the later distinction. No motive can be suggested for altering the words 'for priests and Levites,' if they stood in the primary text.

deprive the many Levites who ministered at the local sanctuaries of their bread. He does indeed, with kindly forethought, maintain the right of the country Levite to a share in the work and emoluments of a priest, if he 'come with all the desire of his soul to the place which Yahweh shall choose' (Deut. xviii. 6-8). This scheme, however, was impracticable. 'The priests of the high places came not up to the altar of Yahweh at Jerusalem' (2 Kings xxiii. 9). It could not well be otherwise: the temple was already occupied by the family of Zadok, who had been established as royal chaplain under Solomon. Ezekiel abrogates the concession of Deuteronomy. For the future the Levites are to be degraded from the priesthood, and this, the prophet thought, was only a fit punishment for their past sins. The priests of the local sanctuaries were less subject to the prophetic influence, which was often strong at Jerusalem; and in any case Ezekiel regarded the worship of Yahweh at the local shrines as no better than idolatry. After the Exile the family of Zadok had it all their own way. Very many priests who claimed to be sons of Zadok, very few of the mere Levites, returned with Zerubbabel and Ezra (Ezra ii. 36-40; viii. 15-20). Indeed, it was only by strong pressure that Ezra could induce any of the common Levites to return. Why should they return, if they were merely to perform those lower offices in the sanctuary formerly intrusted to heathen? (Ezek. xlv. 6-9.) The Levites who did return must have been completely under the power of the Jerusalem or Zadokite priests; their number grew, probably because many new families were associated with them by those fictitious genealogies which commend themselves to the Semitic mind. Hence, the 'Priestly Writer' could transport the origin of the priestly families at Jerusalem back from Zadok in the time of Solomon to Aaron in the time of Moses. He could represent the distinction between priests and Levites as primitive, despite the fact that it was a novelty. He could speak of the subordinate ministry as a lofty honour given them by Yahweh, though Ezekiel a century before had considered it a degradation. 'They

shall bear their iniquity,' says the prophet. 'Is it but a small thing to you,' says the 'Priestly Writer,' 'that the God of Israel has separated you from the congregation of Israel, to bring you near to himself, to do the service of the tabernacle of Yahweh? . . . and seek ye the priesthood also?' The reader must remember that Ezekiel was a priest of the temple, and must therefore have known well how things stood in his own day. So, too, the Deuteronomist had the warmest interest in the temple at Jerusalem, and had therefore no conceivable motive for concealing the sole right of the sons of Zadok or of Aaron to the priesthood.¹

The 'high-priest' is, in the document before us, the head of the theocracy, and has a sacrosanct character which gives him an unparalleled eminence and dignity. Such a functionary was utterly unknown before the Exile. No doubt, the priests were not all on one level. Jeremiah, himself a priest, recognises certain elders or sheikhs of the priests, and even speaks of the 'the priest,' *i.e.* 'the chief officer' of the temple (Jer. xix. 1 ;

¹ The statement of Ezekiel is so explicit that one can hardly see how its force can be evaded by any possible ingenuity. I prefer to quote Dillmann's own words (*Exod. und Levit.* p. 461): 'The assertion that Ezekiel first brought up the distinction between priests and Levites, and so forms the bridge between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code, is false. For Ezekiel in xl. 45 *seq.*, xlii. 13, xliii. 19, presupposes this distinction as a matter of course; and in chapter xlv., where he speaks of the matter *ex professo*, he only intends to restore the original order.' Exactly the same position is taken by Kittel, Baudissin, etc., and I venture to think that a position must be desperate if men so able and learned can devise no better defence. For (1) Ezekiel does regard the radical and essential distinction between priest and mere Levite as new. 'They shall not come near to me to execute the office of a priest to me.' (2) He makes not the least allusion to Aaron, or to the view of the 'Priestly Writer,' that the distinction between priest and Levite was primeval. (3) He does not charge the Levites with presumption or sacrilege for arrogating to themselves the priestly office. Their crime lay in their connivance at idolatry. (4) He expressly represents the subordinate position of the Levites as a punishment and degradation: the 'Priestly Writer' no less expressly represents it as a high honour. To Ezekiel the Levites are degraded from the priesthood: according to Num. viii. they are elevated from the mass of the laity.

xx. 1 ; xxix. 25-26). But this natural dignity, required by order and convenience, is a wholly different thing from the mysterious 'high-priest' of the 'Priestly' code. The late origin of the latter is clear from the fact that Ezekiel, in his elaborate scheme of ritual, takes no notice of the high-priest. The temple at Jerusalem was originally, like the sanctuaries at Bethel and Dan, a royal chapel, and the power of the chief priest was overshadowed by the king. Even Ezekiel acknowledges the prince's right of receiving the sacred offerings and providing for the temple service. When the memory of kingly power had faded away, when the Jews, having ceased to be a nation, had become a church, and concentrated their thoughts on ritual religion, then, and not till then, was there room for the office of high-priest, as conceived by the 'Priestly Writer.'

There is no reason to think that the 'Priestly' rules on the income of the priests and Levites existed before the Exile. Ezekiel is silent about the offering of tithes and the firstborn of beasts to the priests and Levites. Plainly, he had never heard of priestly and Levitical cities. For he makes a provision in land, for the priests and Levites, without alluding to any previous arrangement. Ezekiel's plan is clear and practicable ; the Levitical cities, on the contrary, never were and never could have been more than a theocratic dream. In such a country as Palestine, which consists mostly of hills pressed together and separated by narrow ravines,

¹ It is quite possible that the title 'high-priest' (כהן הראש. הכהן הגדול) may be older than the Exile. But the high-priest of earlier times was not the high-priest of the 'Priestly' code. Baudissin (p. 289) admits that 'in the prophet Zechariah, who wrote after the Exile, we see the high-priest Joshua appearing as head of the people as no previous high-priest of Judah had done.' Under David there were two chief priests (2 Sam. viii. 17 ; xx. 25), and Solomon 'drove out' one of them on political grounds (1 Kings ii. 26, 27). In fact, Solomon, as has been shown above, offered sacrifice in person, and probably all the early kings were themselves in the truest sense the high-priests of the nation. This was just what analogy would lead us to expect. We know that the Roman kings were chief priests. Hence, even when the very name of king was hateful, the title was perpetuated in the *rex sacrorum*. There seems to have been no room, and no occasion for a Pontifex Maximus till republican times.

no mortal power could set apart forty-eight cities surrounded by a pasture land of 2000 ells square.

The Deuteronomist fixes attention on the God to whom sacrifice is to be offered, and on the place at which sacrifice should be offered. The 'Priestly Writer' has little to say on either of these points, which he regards as matters already settled, but he enlarges on the manner in which sacrifice is to be offered—in other words, on the sacrificial ritual. Now Jeremiah, priest as he was, declares (vii. 22) that Yahweh 'spake not to your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices,' thereby showing complete ignorance of the whole 'Priestly' legislation at Sinai. Ezekiel has the ritualistic spirit which was distasteful to the earlier prophets, and takes great pains to regulate the manner of sacrifice. Had he known the 'Priestly' legislation, it would have suited him exactly. As it is, he had to codify the sacrificial ritual for himself. His requirements, too, are less exacting, and his ritual less splendid on the whole, than that in Leviticus and Numbers, so that the priority seems to be on his side.¹ It is certain that he had never heard of the solemn day of atonement prescribed in Lev. xvi. for the tenth day of the seventh month. Had he done so, he would not have had to devise two days of atonement, one as each half of the year begins (Ezek. xlv. 18-20), and this with ceremonies so simple that one is obliged to look upon them as the mere germ of the elaborate and impressive ritual enjoined in Lev. xvi. It is just the same with the sabbatical year and the year of jubilee. No trace of them appears before the Exile.²

In short, the history of Israel, and in particular the history of prophecy and ritual, are unintelligible unless we place the 'Priestly Writer' after the Exile, in which case all becomes clear.

¹ Smend (*Ezekiel*, p. 377) exhibits the differences in comparative tables, and carefully investigates the whole question.

² Ezek. xlvi. 17 mentions a 'year of release.' He refers, however, not to the fiftieth but to the seventh year. For Jeremiah (xxxiv. 8, 15, 17) uses the same expression (רִצְרוּץ), and leaves no room for doubt that he is referring to the law in Deut. xv.

The Deuteronomist follows the 'Book of the Covenant,' and the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' chiefly the Elohist: he shows not the least sign of acquaintance with the 'Priestly Writer.' The same is true of all writers before the Exile.¹ But if we turn to the Chronicler, who compiled his work about 250 B.C., we are at once struck by the difference. In the first or genealogical part of his work he makes free use of the whole Hexateuch, including the 'Priestly' document. He distinguishes carefully, and almost habitually between priests and Levites, mentions again and again the Levitical cities and their pasture lands (1 Chron. vi. 39-66, etc.); he refers to the altar of burnt offering (1 Chron. xvi. 40), to the morning and evening sacrifices, and the sacrifices for the feasts, 'as it is written in the law of Yahweh' (2 Chron. xxxi. 3), the tithes from the flocks and herds (xxxi. 5, 6), the holy trumpets (1 Chron. xv. 24, etc., as Num. x. 1-10). The author of the book of Kings tells us (1 Kings viii. 65-66) that Solomon kept the feast of Tabernacles seven days, and sent the people away on the eighth. This was the author's idea of legal observance as enjoined in Deut. xvi. 13. With the Chronicler it was otherwise. He knew that the 'Priestly' law (Lev. xxiii. 39) marked the eighth day as a *שבתון* or

¹ Here again it will be best to let Dillmann speak for himself. 'It has been shown that the Deuteronomist's acquaintance with historical and legal portions of the "Priestly Writer" is, although it cannot be proved with full certainty, still probable: also in respect to language signs are not wanting which point in the same direction' (*Hexateuch*, vol. iii. p. 668). We add a complete list of all references to the 'Priestly' document which Dillmann produces from Hebrew literature anterior to the Exile:—(1) 2 Kings xi. 12: 'Then he brought out the king's son [Joash], and put the crown upon him and the testimony,' the Hebrew word for 'testimony' *עדות* being a common synonym in the 'Priestly Writer' for the decalogue: (2) resemblances of language in Isa. i. 13, iv. 5; Amos ii. 7; Hos. vi. 9, the only instance cited by Dillmann being the use of *מקרא* 'convocation': (3) Amos, like the 'Priestly Writer,' represents the Israelites as wandering forty years in the desert. (4) Amos vii. 4 speaks of 'the great deep,' as Gen. vii. 11. (5) Isaiah xi. 6 *seq.*, in his ideal of the Messianic time, portrays conditions attributed by the 'Priestly Writer' (Gen. i. 29 *seq.*) to man's original state. About the first instance, Dillmann himself seems doubtful. It is impossible to extract any meaning from the statement that Jehoiada 'put the crown and the testimony upon Joash,' if 'testimony' be a synonym for 'decalogue.' Indeed, early Jewish

'solemn rest.' Accordingly, for the words 'On the eighth day he sent the people away,' he substitutes (2 Chron. vii. 9), 'On the eighth day they held a solemn assembly.' The chronicler adopts the same technical term (עֲצֵרֶת) which the 'Priestly Writer' had used in the same connection. We are now able to understand the promises and threats which close the earliest nucleus of the 'Priestly' law (Lev. xvii.—xxvi.). 'It is striking,' says Dillmann, 'that many expressions occur which seem somewhat modern, inasmuch as they appear first in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.' The threats occupy far more space than the promises: 'the sad circumstances of the Exile are portrayed in lively colours, and in accordance with experience.' If, however, unlike Dillmann, we grant that even the earliest written sketch of the 'Priestly' law was written in or after the Exile, these striking facts receive rational explanation, and to this conclusion all the evidence leads.

tradition was puzzled by the words. The Peshitto translates 'crown of the testimony,' the Arabic in the London Polyglott has 'crown of the kingdom,' and the Jerusalem Targum (Lagarde, *Prophet. Chaldaice*, p. 24) develops from the enigmatical words the strange conceit, that the crown was itself a 'testimony' or test: it was so heavy that no one except the lawful heir could bear it. Even Rashi gives this view as the older one, though he supports the ungrammatical interpretation adopted in the English version that Jehoiada put the crown on the king's head and gave him the 'testimony,' i.e. the book of the law. The text needs emendation, and we must read 'the crown and the bracelets' (צַעֲדוֹת comp. 2 Sam. i. 10 with Driver's note), or 'the crown and the insignia' (עֲרֵי. See Klostermann *ad loc.*). The other passages may be safely left to the judgment of the reader. I may add here that the Deuteronomist in chap. xiv. (on clean and unclean food) has one or two peculiarities of language which remind us of the 'Priestly' style. This shows that certain technical terms were commonly used in priestly circles and adopted both by the Deuteronomist and the 'Priestly Writer.' It must be allowed also that the Deuteronomist was in this chapter following a written source, used both by himself and by the 'Priestly Writer' in Lev. xi. Otherwise, it does not seem possible to account for such a form as לְמִינֵהוּ which the Deuteronomist uses here and nowhere else.

¹ The examination of the language of the 'Priestly Writer,' and its date, has been examined by Ryssel, *De Elohistæ Pentateuchi Sermones* (1878), by Giesebrecht (*Z. A. T.* 1881), and in a cautious and instructive essay by Prof. Driver (*Jour. of Philology*, xxii). Ryssel contends for the pre-exilic, Giesebrecht for the post-exilic date; Professor Driver's position is somewhat negative; Kuenen sums up very moderately and reasonably (*Onderz.* i. § 15, 11).

It does not of course follow that because the 'Priestly' law, as a whole, was written down after the Exile, all the usages which it embodies date from so late a time. This is the case with some of the most important among them, but by no means with all. The priests at Jerusalem, as elsewhere, must have had a number of religious customs handed down by tradition in their clan and corporation. But the call to write them down need not have been felt while the temple-worship continued. A young priest learnt the sacred rites by seeing them, just as even a Catholic priest learns the rites of mass much more by instruction from his elders than by study of books. When the temple was destroyed by the Babylonians, and sacrifice was suspended, the need of writing made itself felt. Laws such as those on clean and unclean animals, or leprosy, are, no doubt, connected with the beginnings of Hebrew life, and go back beyond it. The ordeal of the 'bitter water' (Num. v. 11. *seq.*) has its analogon among savage races, and may justly claim immemorial antiquity. The 'Priestly' document unites the monotheism and morality of the prophets with ancient superstition and priestly assumption of later date. In its adaptation to the circumstances of the time and in its mixed character lay the secret of its success.

(d) The final Redaction of the Pentateuch.

In 444 B.C. the people at Jerusalem bound themselves to the observance of the law, and this law included the 'Priestly' legislation as a whole. Yet this can only be accepted as a general statement which requires modification in detail.

In the first place, the 'Priestly' document received important additions after Ezra's time. These later accretions will be pointed out in the proper place, when the text of this document is given. Here it is enough to mention the day of atonement, the tithe from flocks and herds, the half shekel for the support of the temple, as examples of ordinances which were not

yet instituted even in the middle of the fifth century B.C. Further, long after Ezra's time the text of the law was treated with a certain degree of freedom. Many changes were made by the scribes, and hence the Samaritan copy and the Greek version of the Septuagint have preserved numerous readings which commend themselves on critical grounds as more ancient than those which met with the final approval of Jewish scholars, and are retained in the present text of our Hebrew Bibles. These differences are not always confined to minutiae. The chronology of the patriarchal epoch is constructed on different systems in the Masoretic text, in the Samaritan copy, and in the Septuagint. The common Hebrew text and the Septuagint differ materially in the account of the erection of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxxv.—xl.) In fact, the formation of the present Hebrew text has been the work of centuries after Ezra.

Secondly, there is reason, though not perhaps decisive reason, to think that 'the book of the law of Moses' to which Ezra and Nehemiah bound the people, did not merely consist of the 'Priestly' document, though that was the part to which attention was chiefly directed, but comprised (with the exceptions just mentioned) the whole of our present Pentateuch. The people, if the account in Neh. viii.—x. be accurate, entered into an engagement to abstain from intermarriage with 'the peoples of the land'—a point prominent in Deuteronomy (vii. 2 *seq.*), and ignored, or at least not clearly mentioned, in the 'Priestly Writer.' So also the people promised to 'forego the seventh year and the exaction of every debt;' and here again both the substance of the engagement and the words used (משא יד. נטש) inevitably recall Deut. xv. 2 *seq.* In Ezra's time Deuteronomy, now united with the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' enjoyed a quasi-canonical authority. The readiest way of securing respect for the 'Priestly' document was to weld it into one with that nucleus of a Bible which the Jews already possessed. In this way danger of rival authority was avoided, and the 'Priestly' legislation would be taken as the supplement of and commentary on the earlier

and simpler legislation of Deuteronomy. Certain it is that, early in the third century B.C., the Pentateuch was separated from Joshua, and divided, as at present, into five books. Of this, the Samaritan text and the version of the Septuagint afford sufficient evidence.

Here this introductory sketch must end. Unless it has wholly failed in its object, it will enable those who had little previous acquaintance with the subject to see the divergence between critical results and the traditional view of the Hexateuch. It is not the work of one hand, but of many. If we put aside a few fragments of ancient song, the earliest document cannot be much earlier than the ninth century before Christ, and is therefore posterior by many centuries to the time of Moses. True, we have at least four witnesses instead of one. But the earliest of these witnesses is anonymous and late; the witnesses on the one hand copy each other, on the other hand contradict each other; the oldest among them proceeds on unhistorical assumptions; each in his order displays an increasing taste for the marvellous, and wanders further from the fact. We cannot out of such material construct the early history of Israel. We may feel sure that Israel's sojourn in Goshen, the deliverance by Moses, the temporary union of the Hebrews and the beginning of a higher religion under his influence, are facts which cannot be shaken. We can lay the finger here and there on precious fragments which enable us to form some idea of the way in which the Hebrews conquered Canaan. That is about all. Even the noble narrative of the Jahvist is not sober history. Yet, in another and a very real sense the Hexateuch becomes in the hands of scholars a history of unique interest. It is not indeed the history of Abraham and Jacob, of Moses and Joshua. It is the history—a history which cannot deceive any more than the history deciphered by geologists on the rocks can deceive—of religious ideas. And to Christians the history of that religion which prepared the way for Christ has, and must have, supreme value.

THE OLDEST BOOK OF HEBREW HISTORY

NOTE

Throughout Genesis the text in ordinary type belongs to the Jahvist. In cases where the Jahvist authorship is uncertain, attention is called to this in the notes.

The text in italics belongs to the Elohist, thus :—

And the angel of God said to me in a dream, 'Jacob,' and I said, 'Here am I.'

Words added by the compiler, chiefly to harmonise the Jahvist and Elohist, have been placed in round brackets, thus :—().

Words which are not in the text, but have been added to explain the sense, have been placed in square brackets, thus :—[].

The numeration of verses and chapters follows that of the Masoretic text. The English reader will find that the cases in which this numeration differs from that familiar to him are noted in the margin of the Revised Version.

For the arrangement of type from the beginning of Exodus to the end of Joshua, see note, p. 106.

THE OLDEST BOOK OF HEBREW HISTORY

GEN. II. 4^b. When¹ Yahweh made earth and heaven—5. now no plant of the field was yet in the earth and no herb of the field had yet sprung up: for Yahweh had not caused it to rain upon the earth and there was not a man to till the ground: 6. but there¹ went up a mist from the earth and watered the whole

¹ ii. 4^b—xi. 9. *Juventus Mundi, or the History previous to the Call of Abraham.* Two facts with regard to this section of the history are generally acknowledged. It is admitted that the narrative given below comes from a book of Hebrew history which is easily and clearly distinguished from that of the 'Priestly Writer' with which we shall have to deal later. On the other hand, it is no less certain that the compiler of this history has drawn his material from more than one source. Wellhausen (*Compos. des Hexat.* xxi. p. 399 *seq.*), Kuenen (*Onderz.* i. § 13, 26; and more fully *Theol. Tijd.* xviii. p. 158 *seq.*), and Budde (*Urgeschichte*) have called attention to the palpable contradictions of the narrative, and have tried to distinguish its original form from later accretions. Scholars of a very different school have acknowledged that this method is at least partly justified by the facts. 'Differences,' says Riehm (*Einleit. A. T.* i. p. 298), 'exist, though they are not so marked as those critics suppose;' and Dillmann speaks much to the same effect. Let us see what the certain differences are. After Cain has murdered his brother, Yahweh drives him forth 'from the face of the ground' (*i.e.* from the cultivated land), and he becomes 'a wanderer,' *i.e.* a nomad. Immediately after this, a section follows (Gen. iv. 17-24) in which we find Cain building a city, while the chief arts of life are said to have been invented by his descendants. The inference is almost inevitable that the author of Gen. iv. 17-24 did not know, or at least did not recognise, the story of Cain's crime and its penalty. We can now go a step further. In Gen. iv. 17-24, one of Cain's descendants was the 'father' of shepherds, another the 'father' of all musicians. The word 'father' cannot be pressed. Nevertheless, we may be sure that an author who traced the arts of life to Cain is not the author who represented the continuity of the human race as entirely broken by a flood which exterminated the race of Cain and left only the descendants of Seth. We may then

face of the ground—: 7. then Yahweh formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul. 8. And Yahweh planted a garden in Eden in the east, and placed there the man whom he had formed. 9. And Yahweh made every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food to spring from the ground; the

separate the flood-myth from the main body of the narrative as a secondary growth. Again, in Gen. x. we have a list of nations, with separate kingdoms and cities. Here, too, we have a later stratum; for the story of the tower of Babel (Gen. xi.) describes all mankind as still living together and speaking one language. This story of the confusion of tongues at Babel makes no allusion to the flood or to Noah and his descendants. The difficulty of the problem is aggravated by the fact that on the whole there is a marked uniformity of literary style and thought in the sections we have assigned to an earlier and later date (see Dillmann, *Gen.* p. 89). This agreement and divergence are accounted for by Dillmann on the supposition that the Jahvist used older materials, which he altered, and into which he infused his own style and spirit. Budde distinguishes three Jahvists, working after each other. These theories, as it seems to me, go much further than anything which our knowledge justifies. But we may with tolerable confidence accept Kuenen's discrimination of the older from the later strata. According to him, the story of the garden of Eden and the fall (Gen. ii. 4^b—iii.), of Cain's descendants (iv. 1, 2; 16^b—24), of the sons of God and the daughters of men (vi. 1-4), of the crime and curse of Canaan (ix. 20-27), of the tower of Babel (xi. 1-9) belong to the original form of the history. The story of Cain's fratricide was added later. This being done, the belief was no longer endurable that mankind, the Hebrews included, were descended from a murderer. Hence, the table of Seth's descendants was added to that of Cain's. Finally, the Hebrews borrowed the story of the flood from the Assyrians, and by this means accounted for the disappearance of Cain's progeny.

'Yahweh.' In our present text we find 'Yahweh God' generally used in the Jahvist story of the Creation and the Fall. According to Delitzsch this strange collocation occurs twenty times in Gen. ii., iii., whereas elsewhere in the Hexateuch we only meet with it in Ex. ix. 30, and in the rest of the Old Testament only in 1 Chron. xvii. 16 *seq.* (twice), 2 Chron. vi. 41 *seq.* (three times), 2 Sam. vii. 22-25, Ps. lxxiv. 9 and 12. The original narrator can have had no reason for departing from his usual habit of calling God by his personal name Yahweh. When, however, an editor united our earliest book of Hebrew history with another account of creation in which the deity was simply called God, he wished to indicate that in each case the same divine being was intended, and so for some time added 'God' to the word Yahveh which stood before him in his document. A much more elaborate theory has been stated by Budde, p. 233 *seq.*, and another by Reuss (*Geschichte des A. T.* § 218); but neither theory has found acceptance.

tree of life also in the midst of the garden and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.¹ 10. And a river went out of Eden to water the garden. And thence it was parted and became four arms. 11. The name of the first is Pishon : that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold ; 12. and the gold of that land is good : there is bdellium and the onyx stone. 13. And the name of the second river is Gihon : the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Cush. 14. And the name of the third river is the Tigris : that is it which goeth in front of Assyria. And the fourth river is the Euphrates.² 15. And Yahweh took the man and put him in the garden of Eden to till it and to guard it. 16. And Yahweh laid a command upon the man, saying, 'Of every tree in the garden thou mayest freely eat. 17. But as to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil,³ thereof thou shalt not eat : for when thou eatest

¹ 'The tree of the knowledge of good and evil.' This is awkwardly introduced, perhaps because it is the original element which the Hebrew writer contributed to the story. The rest of the myth is much like other myths on the golden age. But neither in Assyrian inscriptions nor elsewhere has any parallel to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil been found. There is a cylinder from ancient Babylon, and now in the British Museum, which contains the figures of a man with horns and a woman with a serpent behind her. The man and woman are seated with a tree between them. But it is only the fancy of Assyriologists which connected the figures with Genesis.

² 'The Euphrates.' This passage belongs to a time when the geographical knowledge of the Hebrews was in its infancy. The writer had heard of the Tigris and the Euphrates, but knew so little of their upper course that he thought they rose from one source and flowed at first together. It is in vain to seek the identification of the two other rivers. Possibly the writer may have had some dim idea of two other great streams such as the Indus and the Nile. But these of course have no connection with the Tigris and Euphrates. Further, Pishon and Gihon being mentioned first cannot (as Fr. Delitzsch has supposed) be meant for mere canals of the Euphrates.

³ The author can scarcely have meant that Yahweh called the tree by this name in addressing the man. Later on, Eve speaks of it simply as 'the tree in the midst of the garden,' and learns the effect of eating its fruit from the serpent. But having added this 'tree of the knowledge of good and evil' to the 'tree of life' which belonged to the original myth, and which was also in the midst of the garden, the author was obliged to make Yahweh speak of the former by its proper title in order to prevent confusion (Kuenen, *Theol. Tijds.* xviii. p. 136).

thereof thou shalt surely die.' 18. And Yahweh said, 'It is not good that man should be alone: I will make him an help corresponding to him.' 19. And Yahweh formed out of the ground every beast of the field and every fowl of the heaven; and brought them to the man to see what he would call them: and whatsoever the man called them, viz., each living creature, that was to be its name. 20. And the man gave names to all cattle and to the fowl of the heaven and to every beast of the field; but for a man he did not find a help corresponding to himself. 21. And Yahweh caused deep slumber to fall on the man, and he slept; and he took one of his ribs and closed up the flesh in its place. 22. And Yahweh built the rib which he had taken from man into a woman; and he brought her to the man. 23. And the man said, 'This at last is bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh: this shall be called woman because this was taken from man.' 24. Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife so that they become one flesh.¹ 25. And they were both naked, the man and the woman, but they were not ashamed.

III. 1. Now the serpent was more cunning than any beast of the field which Yahweh made. And he said to the woman, 'Can it really be that God² has said "Ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden"?' 2. And the woman said to the serpent, 'Of the

¹ 'One flesh.' Here, as elsewhere, the myth turns metaphor into physical fact, supposed connection of words into connection of things. 'Thou art my bone and my flesh' was a proverbial Hebrew expression for close alliance (see Genesis xxix. 14, Judges ix. 2). Therefore the first woman being most closely allied to man must have been literally taken from the flesh and bone of the first man. The Arabic phrase 'huwa lizki,' 'he is my rib' (*i.e.* 'my close friend'), points still more nearly to the bone from which Eve was formed. The myth also appeals to the likeness of sound between the Hebrew words for 'man' and 'woman' ('ish' and 'ishshāh') though in reality they come from different roots; and man himself is supposed to have been made from the ground, because another word for man—Adam—resembles the word for ground 'Adāmāh.' In fact, 'Adam' is not derived from Adāmāh, any more than 'homo' is derived from 'humus.'

² 'God has said.' The personal name Yahweh, on account of its sanctity, is not put in the serpent's mouth, or used by Eve in talking to the serpent.

fruit of the tree of the garden we may eat : 3. but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God has said, 'Ye shall not eat of it and shall not touch it, lest ye die.' 4. And the serpent said to the woman, 'Ye shall by no means die : 5. for God knows that when ye eat thereof, your eyes shall be opened and ye shall be as God, knowing good and evil.' 6. And the woman saw that the tree was good to eat and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was desirable in order to become wise, and she took of its fruit and ate ; and she gave also to her husband with her, and he ate. 7. And the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked ; and they sewed fig leaves together and made themselves girdles. 8. And they heard the sound¹ of Yahweh walking in the garden in the cool of the day : and the man and his wife hid themselves from the face of Yahweh in the midst of the trees of the garden. 9. And Yahweh called to the man and said to him, 'Where art thou?' 10. And he said, 'I heard the sound of thee in the garden and I was afraid because I was naked ; and I hid myself.' 11. And he said, 'Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat?' 12. And the man said, 'The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree and I did eat.' 13. And Yahweh said to the woman, 'What is this thou hast done?' And the woman said, 'The serpent beguiled me and I ate.' 14. And Yahweh said to the serpent, 'Because thou hast done this thing, cursed shalt thou be above all cattle and beasts of the field ; upon thy belly shalt thou go and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life ; 15. and I will put enmity between thee and the woman and her descendants and thy descendants : they shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise their heel.'² 16. To the

¹ 'The sound of Yahweh,' *i.e.* the sound of his steps.

² The meaning of the word translated 'bruise' is most uncertain. But the sense of the passage is plain. The serpent is manifestly a literal and ordinary serpent, though it must be remembered that primitive peoples are apt to regard animals, and especially noxious animals like the snake, as demoniacal.

woman he said, 'I will greatly multiply thy distress in pregnancy; in pain shalt thou bear children; and unto thy husband shall be thy desire¹ but he shall rule over thee.' 17. And to the man² he said, 'Since thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife and hast eaten of the tree, concerning which I commanded thee saying, "Thou shalt not eat of it," cursed shall the ground be for thy sake, in distress shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. 18. Thorns and thistles it shall bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field;³ 19. in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, until thou return to the ground, for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art and to dust shalt thou return.' 20. And the man called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother of all living. 21. And Yahweh made coats of skin⁴ for Adam and his wife and clothed them. 22. And Yahweh said, 'Behold, the man is become as one of us, so as to know good and evil. And now lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life and live for ever!'⁵ 23. And

This serpent speaks as Balaam's ass afterwards spoke, induces mankind to disobey Yahweh, and is punished by having to crawl on his belly and eat dust, and by the future enmity between the race of serpents and men. The snake is to attack man's heel, man is to attack the serpent's head.

¹ 'Thy desire.' The desire is part of the curse. Woman is to desire man's society notwithstanding the pain and subjection which are the result.

² 'And to the man.' The most correct Hebrew texts read 'L^aAdām,' *i.e.* 'to Adam'—not 'La-Adam,' *i.e.* 'to the man.' As, however, this vowel-pointing only represents a late, though valuable tradition, and as it is unlikely that the writer suddenly changed the word 'Adam' into a proper name, I have followed Dillmann (against Delitzsch, Socin-Kautzsch, etc.), in translating 'the man' till iv. 25, when both the consonants and the sense require the translation 'Adam.' Of the ancient versions Onkel., Symm., Theodot., Saad., render the Hebrew word as a proper name even in ii. 7, 'and Yahweh' (or 'and the Lord') 'made man of dust from the ground.' The LXX. introduce the proper name at ii. 16: 'The Lord commanded Adam, saying'; the Latin Vulgate later still, at ii. 19: 'The Lord God brought them [the animals] to Adam.'

³ 'The herb of the field,' *i.e.* grain, which needs careful tillage, rather than fruit, on which man had fed hitherto.

⁴ 'Coats of skin.' Onkelos has 'garments of glory on the skin of their flesh,' thus softening the grossness of the anthropomorphism.

⁵ 'And live for ever.' Man was not made immortal. But he had learnt

Yahweh sent him forth from the garden of Eden to till the ground whence he was taken. 24. And he drove the man out; and set at the east of the garden of Eden the cherubim and the flame of the waving sword¹ to keep the way to the tree of life.

IV. 1. And the man knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare Cain, and she said, 'I have gotten a man with the help of Yahweh.'² 2. And again she bare his brother Abel. And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground. 3. And in process of time it came to pass that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering to Yahweh. 4. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, that is to say, of their

wisdom by eating the forbidden fruit, and had become Yahweh's rival. Hence Yahweh was afraid that man, having learnt to distinguish (physical) good from evil, would eat of the tree of life and so ward off death and decay for ever. Yahweh is far from omniscient, and he is also envious. The same idea of the divine jealousy is prominent in Herodotus: *e.g.* i. 32, τὸ θεῶν τῶν φθόνερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες—'the divine nature is altogether envious and prone to cause trouble'—and so Herod. iii. 40, vii. 10, 46, 56.

¹ 'The cherubim and flame of the waving sword.' The cherubim are mentioned in Ps. xviii. 11, where they seem to be the mythical personification of storm-clouds, as the seraphim are the personification of the lightning. In Ezek. xxviii. 11 *seq.* the cherub is brought into connection with heathen mythology, for he is described as dwelling not only in the garden of Eden, but also 'in the holy mountain of God' or of the gods, and walking amidst precious stones. From 1 Kings vi. 27 it is clear that the cherubim had wings. The derivation of the word is still uncertain, but on an amulet discovered in 1874 the Assyrian word 'Ki-ru-bu' appears as the name of the winged bulls and lions with human faces which guarded the entrance to Assyrian palaces. The idea of the cherubim, which in any case belongs to Semitic mythology, was probably therefore borrowed by the Hebrews from the Assyrians (see Schrader, *ad loc.*; Riehm, art. CHERUBIM).

² 'I have gotten a man.' The writer plays on the likeness between the Hebrew word for 'to get,' viz. 'quanāh,' and the name 'Quain' (Cain). He assumes that Eve spoke Hebrew. So Adam must have spoken Hebrew or an allied tongue when he called his wife 'Chavva' (Eve), *i.e.* 'life.' In reality Cain means 'spear.' This, and the fact that Abel means 'breath,' 'nothingness,' may have occasioned the story of Abel's murder by Cain. The same word 'Cain,' though differently spelt in our English Bible, is in Judges iv. 11 the name of a nomad tribe, neighbours of the Hebrews, and this may be the origin of the wandering life ascribed to Cain.

fat pieces. And Yahweh looked with favour on Abel and on his offering. 5. But on Cain and his offering he did not look with favour. And Cain was very wroth and his face fell. 6. And Yahweh said to Cain, 'Why art thou wroth and why has thy face fallen? 7. If thou doest well, shall it not be lifted up? And if thou doest not well, sin croucheth at the door and unto thee is its desire; but thou shouldst rule over it.' 8. And Cain said to Abel his brother, 'Let us go into the field.'¹ And it came to pass when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him. 9. And Yahweh said to Cain, 'Where is Abel thy brother?' And he said, 'I know not: am I my brother's keeper?' 10. And he said, 'What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to me from the ground. 11. And now thou art driven by a curse from the ground,'² which has opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand. 12. When thou tillest the ground it shall no more yield to thee its strength; a wanderer and a fugitive shalt thou be in the earth.' 13. And Cain said to Yahweh, 'The punishment of mine iniquity is too great to bear. 14. Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the ground and from thy face I shall be hidden,'³ and I shall be a wanderer and a fugitive in the earth: and it shall come to pass, that whosoever findeth me⁴ shall slay me.' 15. And Yahweh said to him, 'Therefore, if any one kills Cain, vengeance shall be taken sevenfold.' And Yahweh set a mark on Cain, lest any finding him should smite him. 16.

¹ 'Let us go into the field.' Wanting in our Hebrew text, but necessary to the sense, and attested by Samar., ixx., and Syr.

² 'From the ground:' *i.e.* from the cultivated and inhabited land to the desert. Comp. ver. 14.

³ 'From thy face I shall be hidden.' For Yahweh only dwells in a particular part of the earth. So David (1 Sam. xxvi. 19) assumes that if he is driven out of Yahweh's land, he will have to serve other gods.

⁴ 'Whosoever findeth me.' Adam, according to the story as it stands, was the only other man in existence. Either, therefore, we must attribute this inconsistency to the simplicity of the narrator or adopt Dillmann's suggestion, that the story of Cain and Abel belonged at first to a later stage in the history of mankind.

And Cain went out from the face of Yahweh and dwelt in the land of Nod, in front of Eden.

IV. 17. And Cain knew his wife, and she conceived and bare Enoch. Now he [Cain] was building a city, and he called the name of the city after the name of his son Enoch. 18. And to Enoch Irad was begotten: and Irad begat Mehujael: and Mehujael begot Methushael: and Methushael begat Lamech. 19. And Lamech took to himself two wives: the name of the one was Adah, and the name of the second Zillah. 20. And Adah bare Jabal: he was the father of such as dwell in tents and have cattle.¹ 21. And the name of his brother was Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle the harp and the pipe. 22. And Zillah also bare Tubal Cain, [the father of] all such as work in copper and iron:² and the sister of Tubal Cain was Naamah. 23. And Lamech said to his wives,

‘Adah and Zillah,³ hear my voice,
Ye wives of Lamech, give ear to my speech:
Surely, I slay a man for wounding me,
And a young man for bruising me:

24. If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
Then Lamech seventy and sevenfold.’

25. And Adam knew his wife again; and she bare a son and

¹ ‘The father of such as dwell in tents and have cattle.’ One of many signs (see above) that the author of this § knew nothing of the shepherd Abel. Kuenen (*Theol. Tijds.* xviii. p. 147) supposes that a word has fallen out of the Hebrew text here. But the construction ‘dwell in tents and [among] cattle,’ though hard, is not impossible. The words ‘father,’ ‘son,’ etc., are used loosely in Semitic languages, and do not imply kindred. Thus in Arabic, ‘a son of the merchants’ means simply ‘merchant.’

² ‘Work in copper and iron.’ This rendering involves a slight change in the Hebrew text, which is generally admitted to be corrupt.

³ ‘Adah and Zillah,’ etc. This is ‘the song of the sword,’ Lamech, exulting in his son’s skill as an armourer, declares that if Cain, without weapons of metal, could avenge a wrong sevenfold, he with these weapons can avenge it seventy and sevenfold. There is no allusion to ii. 15, for Cain here is not a murderer, but simply ready to revenge a blow. But ii. 15 may have sprung from a misunderstanding of this song.

called his name Seth: for, 'God has appointed me other seed instead of Abel, since Cain has slain him.' 26. And to Seth, to him also a son was born, and he called his name Enosh: then they began to call upon [God by] the name of Yahweh.¹ . . .

. . . V. 29.² And he called his name Noah, saying, 'This same will comfort us for our work and the sore labour of our hands, which comes from the ground which Yahweh has cursed.'

VI. 1. And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the ground and daughters were born unto them, 2. that the sons of God³ saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them wives of all that they chose. 3. And Yahweh said, 'My breath will not rule⁴ in man for ever: . . . he is flesh; therefore let his days be an hundred and twenty years.' 4. The giants were on the earth in these days and also after the time when the sons of God went in to the daughters of men, and they bare children to them. These are the mighty men,

¹ 'To call upon,' *i.e.* to worship God by the name of Yahweh. Perhaps we should read 'he began' (zeh hēchēl). There is a difficulty in reconciling this statement with the foregoing account, in which Cain and Abel sacrifice and that (by implication) to Yahweh.

² ver. 29 *seq.* This a fragment from the genealogy of the Sethites. The editor of the Hexateuch omitted the rest because he gave instead the table of the 'Priestly Writer.' The authorship of this verse is apparent from the use of the name Yahweh, the reference to the cursing of the 'ground' (not earth), and the explanation of the name Noah ('rest'), explanation of names by their supposed etymology being a constant habit of the Jahvist. The LXX., which have 'will give us rest' instead of 'will comfort us,' make the play on the word still more obvious.

³ 'The sons of God,' *i.e.* the angels, as Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7; comp. Ps. xxix. 1, lxxxix. 7. From this union of gods and men the giants were born. Ancient nations (*e.g.* the Greeks) delighted in tracing noble houses to such unions, and the Hebrew myth once had much more to say on such a point, as may be gathered from the phrase 'men of renown.' When, however, this narrative was written, the Hebrew tendency to monotheism and awe of the Supreme made such stories hateful. The narrator passes quickly from the subject, and indicates that these unnatural unions were a source of moral corruption.

⁴ 'Rule.' The sense of the Hebrew word 'yadōn' is very doubtful. Kuenen proposes to read 'yalūn,' 'dwell.' A word which follows 'beshaggām' has been left untranslated. Its meaning is doubtful, and it is almost certainly a corruption of the text.

who were celebrated of old. 5. And Yahweh saw¹ that the wickedness of man was great on the earth and that every device of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. 6. And Yahweh repented that he had made man upon the earth, and he was distressed in his heart. 7. And Yahweh said, 'I will blot

¹ 'And Yahweh saw,' etc. Since the investigations of Hupfeld (1853), completed and corrected by Schrader a few years later, there has been no room for doubt in distinguishing the Jahvistic story of the flood. It is only in a few matters of detail that there is any difference of opinion. But questions still unsettled have been raised by the discovery of a Chaldean flood-myth. Thirty years ago our authority for this part of the Chaldean mythology consisted in fragments of Berosus, a Babylonian priest, who lived from 330-260 B.C. Towards the close of 1872 George Smith published his version of a flood-myth, which he had discovered on the Assyrian bricks of the British Museum. This account, as it stands on the bricks now in London, was copied for the library of Assurbanipal (B.C. 668-626); but the original from which it was taken must have been very much older, and is placed by Assyriologists as early at least as the 17th century B.C. (see Dillmann, *Gen.* p. 134). It is, however, the relations of the Jahvist to the Assyrian (originally Babylonian) account with which we are here concerned. Are we to believe, with Lenormant, that both Babylonians and Hebrews borrowed from a primitive tradition common to both nations? or, with Schrader, Kuenen, and Kisters, that the Hebrews before their exile derived the myth from the Assyrians? or, with Fr. Delitzsch, Haupt, and others, that even the Jahvist borrowed the myth from the Assyrians or Babylonians after the Exile? The following points seem to be clear:—(1.) The accounts cannot be independent; nay, they are too closely allied to admit of the explanation that each comes from a common source. In each, a favourite of heaven is saved in a ship; and, while all other men and beasts are destroyed, he takes with him into the ship or ark a number of his dependants and specimens of the various kinds of animals. In each the flood is sent by God or the gods. In each the hero of the story sends out birds, and in particular a raven and a dove, to learn how far the flood had abated. In each he offers a sacrifice after returning to land. One has only to compare the flood-myths of the Indians or the Greeks to see that there is no parallel to such minute resemblance in myths which may have sprung from one source, but which have existed long apart. The matter is clinched by the fact that the resemblance between the Chaldean and Hebrew accounts extends even to words and phrases. The most striking points of contact are given below from Schrader's translation of the Assyrian text. (2.) The Jahvist borrowed from the Assyrian story, not *vice versa*. The Jahvist is the first Hebrew writer known to us who mentions the flood. Apart from him the second Isaiah (liv. 9), who wrote at the close of the Exile, is the first Hebrew writer who refers to the flood. This may be accidental. But it is no accident that the Babylonian myth abounds

out men whom I have [made]¹ from the face of the ground, since I repent that I have made them.' 8. But Noah found favour in the eyes of Yahweh. VII. 1. And Yahweh said to Noah, 'Come thou and all thy house into the ark;² for thee have I seen righteous before me³ in this generation. 2. Of every beast that is clean thou shalt take seven pairs, the male with his wife;⁴ and of the beasts which are not clean one pair, the male with his wife; 3. also of the birds of the sky seven pairs, [the male and his wife] to keep seed alive on the face of all the earth. 4. For after seven days⁵ I will send rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every existing thing that I have made will I

in the local colouring of Mesopotamia. It mentions canals, it speaks of a ship (not an ark or box), and of a steersman. In the Hebrew myth these traits natural to a people familiar with shipping are left out, and on the other hand there is no local colouring to remind one of Palestine. (3.) There is no reason to suppose that the Jahvist who borrowed the Assyrian flood-myth lived after the Exile. Long before that period there were relations, and these not always unfriendly, between Judah and Babylon or Assyria. Consider the embassy of Merodach-Baladan of Babylon to Hezekiah (Isaiah xxxix. 1) about 703 B.C., and the fact that Judah was a vassal-kingdom of Assyria for some thirty years previous to that date. (4.) When the Jahvist writer borrowed the Babylonian myth, he improved its moral and religious tone. He substitutes one God for many gods. He makes the flood the punishment of sin—not, as in the Babylonian myth, the result of divine caprice. No doubt, the hero of the Babylonian myth is a pious man; and one of the gods, Hea, insists that the guilty must perish. But another god, Bel, is reproached for making no difference between good and bad, and the gods are subject to a kind of fate. The dissertations of Kisters, *Theol. Tijd.* xix., treat the whole subject admirably.

¹ 'Made.' The Hebrew text has 'created,' a word peculiar to the 'Priestly Writer.' Here, as in other instances, the editor of the Hexateuch has introduced the word peculiar to the one document into the other.

² 'Ark' or box. The Hebrew word 'tēbah' only occurs in the story of the flood and in Exod. ii. 3, 5. It is of doubtful, possibly of Egyptian, origin.

³ 'Righteous before me.' The name of the Babylonian Noah, viz. Hāsis-Hadra, means 'pious and wise.'

⁴ 'The male with his wife.' The Hebrew words, which are the same as those for 'husband' and 'wife,' have been so translated to distinguish them from the wholly different words 'male' and 'female' which belong to the 'Priestly Writer,' though they have been thrust into verse 3 of the narrative before us.

⁵ 'After seven days.' In the Babylonian account we have an introductory period of seven days, the flood lasts seven days, and is drained off in seven days.

blot out from off the face of the ground.' 5. And Noah did according to all that Yahweh commanded him. 10. And it came to pass after seven days that the waters of the flood came upon the earth. 7. And Noah went in and [his house]¹ into the ark [for safety] from the waters of the flood. 8. Of clean beasts and of beasts which are not clean and of birds, . . . 9. there went in for Noah into the ark as Yahweh² commanded Noah. 16^b. And Yahweh shut [the door] after him.³ 12. And a torrent of rain fell on the earth forty days and forty nights. 17. And the flood was forty days upon the earth; and the waters increased and bare up the ark, and it was lifted up above the earth. 22. All in whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit of life, of all that was on the dry land, died. 23. And he [Yahweh] blotted out every existing thing which was on the face of the ground;⁴ and Noah only was left and they that were with him in the ark. VIII. 2^b. And the torrent of rain was restrained from the heaven. 3^a. And the waters returned from the earth more and more. 6. And it came to pass at the end of forty days that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made. 7. And he sent forth a raven and it went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from the earth. 8. And he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground. 9. But the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot⁵ and she returned to him in the ark, for waters were on the face of the

¹ 'His house,' *i.e.* his family. We have restored this phrase, which the Yahvist uses instead of 'and his sons and his wife and his sons' wives,' which comes from the 'Priestly Writer.' An attempt has also been made to restore the original order of the narrative.

² The Hebrew text has 'God;' but the Samar., Onkel., Vulg., and the Bodleian ms. of the LXX. (E) read 'Yahweh.' In vv. 8 and 9 there is a confusion of the Jahvist with the priestly document.

³ 'Shut the door after him.' Observe the anthropomorphism. In the Chaldean tablets a voice says to the Babylonian Noah, 'Go into the ship and shut your door.'

⁴ 'On the face of the ground.' Here a few words have been added from the 'Priestly Writer.'

⁵ 'The dove found no rest for the sole of her foot.' Compare the cuneiform

whole earth : and he put forth his hand and took her and brought her to himself in the ark. 10. And he stayed yet other seven days ; and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark ; 11. and the dove came to him at eventide ; and, lo, in her mouth a fresh olive leaf : so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth. 12. And he waited yet other seven days and sent forth the dove ; and she did not return to him any more. 13^b. And Noah removed the covering of the ark and looked, and, lo, the face of the ground was dry. 20. And Noah built an altar to Yahweh,¹ and took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl and offered burnt offerings upon the altar. 21. And Yahweh smelt the sweet fragrance, and Yahweh said in his heart, 'I will not again curse the ground any more on account of man, since the device of man's heart is evil from his youth ; neither will I again smite every living thing, as I have done. 22. While the earth remains, seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night, shall not cease.'

IX. 18. And the sons of Noah who went forth from the ark were Shem, Ham, and Japheth ; and Ham was the father of Canaan.² 19. These three were the sons of Noah : and from these the whole earth was overspread. 20. And Noah the

account :—'At the dawn of the seventh day, I took out a dove and let it fly. The dove flew hither and thither ; because however there was no resting-place there, it returned.' On the whole the Babylonian record seems to be here more original and consistent than the Hebrew. In the former Hāsis-Hadra (= Noah) after seven days sends out a dove, then a swallow, which flies hither and thither and returns ; lastly a raven, which wades in the water, now become shallow, and does not return.

¹ 'And Noah built an altar to Yahweh.' Compare the cuneiform account :—'I offered sacrifice, I erected an altar on the top of the mountain peak.' As in the Hebrew account, Yahweh smells a sweet fragrance, so in the cuneiform we read that the 'gods inhaled the savour, the gods inhaled the fragrant savour. Like flies the gods gathered over the sacrifice.' Here, however, the contrast between the coarseness of Assyrian polytheism and the relative sobriety of Hebrew religion is plain.

² 'Ham was the father of Canaan.' This story belongs, as has been said above, to the oldest stratum of the Jahvistic record. It has no natural connection with the flood-myth, but follows naturally the history of the arts

husbandman began and planted a vineyard : 21. and he drank of the wine and became drunk : and he was uncovered within his tent. 22. And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw his father's nakedness, and told his two brethren without. 23. And Shem and Japheth took a garment and laid it on both their shoulders and covered the nakedness of their father, going backwards with their faces turned backwards, so that they did not see the nakedness of their father. 24. And Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his youngest son had done to him. 25, And he said,

‘Cursed be Canaan,

The meanest slave let him be to his brethren.’

26. And he said, ‘Blessed be Yahweh the God of Shem ;

And let Canaan be their slave.

27. God enlarge Japheth,

And let him dwell in the tents of Shem,

And let Canaan be their slave.’

. . . X. 8.¹ And Cush begot Nimrod :² he began to be a

(Gen. iv. 17-24). Husbandry and the making of wine are the steps in advance noted here. But throughout, impiety grows with civilisation. The knowledge of good and evil was gained by disobedience. Violence and polygamy accompany the invention of metal weapons : here husbandry introduces wine, wine drunkenness on Noah's part, with irreverent indecency on the part of his youngest son. Whereas, however, in the original narrative Noah's sons were Shem, Japheth, and Canaan, a later hand has changed the order and names into Shem, Japheth, and Ham, and has prefixed ‘Ham the father of’ to the name of Canaan here and in ver. 22. This appears from the facts that the irreverence is ascribed to Noah's ‘youngest son,’ and that the curse falls upon Canaan. The alteration may have been caused by unwillingness to regard the hated Canaan as immediately descended from Noah, the father of a renewed humanity. Shem is the father of the Hebrews, Canaan of the Canaanites. But who was Japheth, and how did he ‘dwell in the tents of Shem’? Budde suggests that Japheth represents the Phœnicians. They were, unlike the Israelites, a seafaring people. They bought Israelite corn, balsam, etc., and from David's time there was a natural friendship between the two nations. Unfortunately this ingenious conjecture cannot be supported by evidence.

¹ 8 *seq.* This list of nations shows much more geographical knowledge than belonged to the author of the story of the garden of Eden. It is inconsistent with the story of Babel which follows, and describes mankind as still living together.

² ‘Nimrod.’ The name cannot be identified on the cuneiform monuments,

mighty man on the earth. 9. He was a mighty hunter before Yahweh, wherefore the saying goes, 'Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before Yahweh.' 10. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel and Erech and Accad and Calneh in the land of Shinar. 11. From that land he went forth to Assyria and built Nineveh¹ and Rehoboth-Ir and Calah 12. and Resen between Nineveh and Calah; the same is the great city. 13. And Misraim² begot the Ludim and the Anamim and the Lehabim and the Naphtuhim 14. and the Pathrusim and the Casluhim, whence went forth the Philistines and the Caphtorim. 15. And Canaan begot Sidon, his first-born, and Heth 16. and the Jebusite and the Amorite and the Girgashite 17. and the Hivite and the Arkite and the Sinite 18. and the Arvadite and the Zemarite and the Hamathite : and afterward were the clans of the Canaanites spread abroad. 19. And the border of the Canaanite was from Sidon, as thou comest towards Gerar, as far as Gaza, as thou comest towards Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboiim unto Lasha. 21. Also to Shem the father of all the sons of Eber,

'A mighty hunter before Yahweh,' is merely a popular phrase for a very great hunter. Compare Jon. iii. 3, Acts vii. 20. The hunting exploits of the Assyrian kings are often represented on the monuments. The text correctly states that culture travelled north from Babylonia to Assyria. Shinar is identical with the native name of South Babylonia. The sites of Babel and Erech are known, and Accad was, if not the name of a town, at least that of a district. It is, however, very doubtful whether there was any connection between Babylonia and Cush, *i.e.* the Kus of the cuneiform monuments, who dwelt south of Egypt. It has been supposed that Asiatic Cushites may have been settled on the Persian Gulf, whence they emigrated to Babylonia, while Schrader explains the statement in the text as a confusion between the African Cush or Kus and the Babylonian Kashshu, a wholly different people.

¹ 'Nineveh' was certainly from the former half of the ninth century B.C., probably as early as 1100 B.C., the residence of the Assyrian kings. Our author makes no mention of the old capital Ashur, which had fallen into obscurity when he wrote.

² 'Misraim' is simply the name given by Semitic races (Assyrians, Hebrews, Syrians, and Arabs) to Egypt. Observe the naïve way in which the foreign name of a country (or rather the two divisions of a country) is transformed into the name of a man.

the elder brother of Japheth, were sons born. 25. And to Eber two sons were born: the name of the one was Peleg, for in his days was the earth divided; and his brother's name was Joktan. 26. And Joktan begot Almodad and Sheleph and Hazarmaveth and Jerah 27. and Hadoram and Uzal and Diklah 28. and Obal and Abimael and Sheba 29. and Ophir and Havilah and Jobab: all these were the sons of Joktan. 30. And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou comest to Sephar, towards the mountain of the east.

XI. 1. And the whole earth had one speech and one sort of words. 2. And it came to pass as they journeyed in the east that they found a deep plain in the land of Shinar and they dwelt there. 3. And they said, one to another, 'Go to, let us make bricks and burn them thoroughly.' And the brick served them as stone and the bitumen as mortar. 4. And they said, 'Go to, let us build us a city and a tower with its top in the heaven, and let us make us a name; lest we be scattered over the face of the whole earth.' 5. And Yahweh went down to see the city and the tower which the sons of men built. 6. And Yahweh said, 'Lo, they are one people and have all one speech; and this is [only] the beginning of their plan: and now they will be debarred from nothing¹ which they purpose to do. 7. Go to, let us go down and confound their speech, that they may not understand one another's speech.' 8. So Yahweh scattered them abroad from thence over the face of the whole earth: and they left off to build the city. 9. Therefore was the name of it called Babel,² because Yahweh did there confuse the speech of the whole earth;

¹ 'And now they will be debarred from nothing.' Here we have the same jealousy which we noticed in the story of the garden of Eden. Here, too, Yahweh is far from omnipresent and omnipotent. He has to 'go down' and adopt the device of confounding their speech. The myth may have arisen from the sight of one of the tower-shaped Babylonian temples which had fallen into ruin.

² 'Therefore was the name of it called Babel.' The name means 'gate of God.' Our author connects it by one of his fanciful etymologies with the Hebrew verb *bālal*, 'to confuse.'

and from thence Yahweh scattered them on the surface of the whole earth.

. . . XI. 28. And Haran¹ died in the presence of Terah his father, in the land of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees. 29. And Abraham and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abraham's wife was Sarah, and the name of Nahor's wife was Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah. 30. And Sarah was barren: she had no child.

XII. 1. Now Yahweh said to Abraham, 'Get thee out from thy country and from thy kindred and from thy father's house to a land which I will show thee: 2. and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee and make thy name great, and thou shalt be [a source of] blessing. 3. And I will bless them that bless thee and curse him that curseth thee, and in thee shall all the families of the earth bless themselves.'² 4^a. And Abraham went, as Yahweh had spoken to him, and Lot with him. 6. And Abraham passed through the land to the place

¹ 'And Haran died.' The following §, vv. 28-30, was generally assigned to the 'Priestly Writer' (so *e.g.* Nöldeke, *Kritik des A. T.* p. 17). But ver. 29 is connected with Gen. xxii. 20, which admittedly belongs to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' 28 is proved by its language to belong to the same source, and Dillmann, Kuenen, Kittel, etc., are inclined to assign the whole section to our document. Dillmann, however, supposes that 'Ur of the Chaldees' is an interpolation. 'Ur' is identified with Uru of the monuments, a city in South Babylonia, whereas our document seems (Gen. xxiv. 4, *seq.* 7, 10) to place Abraham's native land much further north in Mesopotamia. But our document is in too fragmentary a state for any certain inference on this point, nor is the identification of Ur certain. I have restored throughout Abraham for Abram and Sarah for Sarai. It is not our author, but the 'Priestly Writer,' who mentions the change of name from Abram to Abraham.

² Bless themselves: 'i.e. use thy name as a form of blessing, wishing that they may be as happy as Abraham. This is a possible rendering, and (in such early Hebrew) it is the only possible rendering of another form (with hithpael instead of niphal as here) which occurs, apparently as an equivalent, in Gen. xxii. 18, xxvi. 4. So Rashi, quoting Gen. xlviii. 20, 'In thee (or by thee) shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh.' He is followed by Dillmann and Delitzsch. The other rendering, 'be blessed in thee,' is that of Onkelos and the Vulgate.

of Shechem to the terebinth of the revealer.¹ And the Canaanite was then in the land. 7. And Yahweh appeared to Abraham and said, 'To thy seed will I give this land;' and he built an altar there to Yahweh, who appeared to him. 8. And he removed thence to the mountain country on the east of Bethel and pitched his tent, having Bethel on the west and Ai on the east; and he built there an altar to Yahweh, and he called on the name of Yahweh. 9. And Abraham journeyed, going on still towards the Negeb.

10. And there was a famine in the land;² and Abraham went down to Egypt to sojourn there; for the famine was heavy in the land. 11. And it came to pass, as he drew near to enter into Egypt, he said to Sarah his wife, 'Behold, now I know that thou art a fair woman to look upon. 12. And it shall come to pass when the Egyptians see thee that they shall say, "This is his wife:" and they will kill me while they will save thee alive. 13. Say, I pray thee, that thou art my sister, that it may be well

¹ 'The terebinth of the revealer.' It is called in Judges ix. 37 'the terebinth of the soothsayers,' and must have been the seat of a Canaanite tree oracle. The rustling sound of the tree was its voice, which the soothsayer interpreted (2 Sam. v. 24). Our author gives a new character to these Canaanite sanctuaries by connecting them with the legends of the patriarchs. See on the whole question of sacred trees, Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, lecture v. In much the same way Mohammed connected the heathen sanctuary at Mecca with the legends of his own monotheism.

² 'And there was a famine in the land.' It need not surprise us to find a similar story told of Sarah's adventure with the king of Gerar (Gen. xx.), because there we clearly have a different narrator, who uses the word God (Elohim), not Yahweh. It is, however, strange to find a writer who uses the name Yahweh telling a story of Rebekah's adventure with the king of Gerar (Gen. xxvi.), which is a mere variant of the story told here. It is noteworthy also that this section omits all mention of Lot, and that a little further on we find Abraham at Bethel, where he was before. Hence Kuenen regards the section before us as a later addition to the history. An editor of the Jahvist document substituted the more famous names Abraham and Pharaoh for Isaac and Abimelech of Gerar. Still the story told in Gen. xxvi. has one mark of later origin, for there Rebekah is not actually taken into the harem, so that her honour is saved. Dillmann and Kittel accept our story as part of the original document, but believe that it stood at first after the separation of Abraham and Lot.

with thee on my account, and that my soul may live because of thee.' 14. And it came to pass that, when Abraham was come into Egypt, the Egyptians saw the woman that she was very fair. 15. And the princes of Pharaoh saw her and praised her to Pharaoh : and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house. 16. And he treated Abraham well for her sake : and he got sheep and cattle, and he-asses, and male and female slaves, and she-asses and camels.¹ 17. And Yahweh plagued Pharaoh with great plagues, along with his household² because of Sarah, Abraham's wife. 18. And Pharaoh called Abraham and said, 'What is this thou hast done to me? Why didst thou not tell me that she was thy wife? 19. Why didst thou say "She is my sister"? so that I took her to myself as a wife : now therefore behold thy wife : take her and go.' 20. And Pharaoh appointed men to escort him with his wife and all that he had.

XIII. 1. And Abraham went up from Egypt, he and his wife and all that he had, and Lot with him,³ into the Negeb.⁴ 2. And Abraham was very rich in cattle, in silver and in gold. 3. And he

¹ 'Camels.' An anachronism. No pictures of camels appear on Egyptian monuments, nor are they mentioned in the older literature. According to Ebers (Art. 'Egypten' in Riehm's *Bibl. H.-W.*) camels were scarcely introduced into Egypt before the third century B.C.

² 'Along with his household.' Awkwardly translated to represent the greater awkwardness of the Hebrew. Probably interpolated from the parallel story, Gen. xx. (Kautzsch-Socin).

³ 'And Lot with him.' There is no allusion to Lot in the story of Abraham's sojourn in Egypt. Dillmann therefore regards these words and vv. 3, 4 as additions by the editor. It is more likely that the whole of xiii. 1-4 is due to the hand which added the story of Abraham's stay in Egypt, and felt the need of connecting it with the rest of the history.

⁴ 'The Negeb.' Usually translated 'south,' but originally the word, which is connected with the Syriac verb Negab, 'to be parched,' had nothing to do with any point of the compass. Negeb means—(1) the dry land which extends from Judah southwards to Arabia Petræa : (2) the south generally, just as the Hebrew word for the sea came to mean the west, and the Arabic word Kibla, *i.e.* the direction towards which the Muslim turned in prayer, came to mean the south, when most Muslims lived north of Mecca. This second usage of Negeb is common in later literature, *e.g.* in the 'Priestly Writer,' but is rare in the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' The LXX. here render 'desert;' all other ancient versions 'south.'

went by stages from the Negeb to Bethel, to the place where his tent had been at the beginning between Bethel and Ai ; 4. to the place of the altar which he made there at first : and Abraham called there on the name of Yahweh. 5. And Lot also, who went with Abraham, had sheep and cattle and tents. 7. And there was strife between the herdmen of Abraham's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle : and the Canaanites and the Perizzites were then dwelling in the land. 8. And Abraham said to Lot, 'Pray, let there be no strife between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen ; for we are brethren. 9. Is not all the land before thee ? Pray, separate thyself from me : if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right ; or if thou take the right hand, then I will go to the left.' 10. And Lot lifted up his eyes, and saw the whole circle of the Jordan that it was well-watered everywhere, before Yahweh destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, like the garden of Yahweh, like the land of Egypt, as thou goest to Zoar.¹ 11^a. So Lot chose for himself all the circle of the Jordan, and Lot journeyed east, . . . 12^b. and moved his tent as far as Sodom. 13. Now the men of Sodom were wicked, and sinners against Yahweh exceedingly. 14. And Yahweh said to Abraham, after Lot was separated from him, 'Lift up thine eyes now, and look from the place where thou art to north, south, east, and west : 15. for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it and to thy seed for ever. 16. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth ; so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered. 17. Arise, walk through the land in its length and breadth ; for to thee will I give it.' 18. And Abraham went and moved his tent, and dwelt by the terebinths of Mamre at Hebron, and built there an altar to Yahweh.

XV.² 1. After these things the word of Yahweh came to

¹ 'As thou goest,' etc. : *i.e.* the depression on each side of the Jordan as far south as Zoar on the Dead Sea was fruitful as Paradise or Egypt.

² XV. The composition of this chapter presents problems of great, perhaps insuperable difficulty. The following points seem clear :—(1.) Two stories

Abraham in a vision, saying, 'Fear not, Abraham : I am thy shield, and thy reward shall be exceedingly great.' 2. And Abraham said, 'O Lord Yahweh, what wilt thou give me, seeing that I go childless, and the possessor of my house is Eliezer.'¹ 3. And Abraham said, 'Behold, to me thou hast given no seed, and one who belongs to my household is mine heir.' 4. And behold, the word of Yahweh came to him, saying, 'This man shall not be thine heir ; but he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir.' 5. And he brought him forth outside, and he said, 'Look now towards heaven and count the stars, if thou canst count them : ' and he said to him, 'So [numerous] shall thy seed be.' 6. And he trusted Yahweh, and Yahweh reckoned it to him as [a proof of] righteousness. 7. And he said to him, 'I am Yahweh who brought thee out from Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it.' 8. And he said, 'Lord Yahweh, wherein shall I know that I shall inherit it ? ' 9. And he said to him, 'Take me an heifer of three years old, a she-goat of three years old, a ram of three years old, a turtledove and a young pigeon.' 10. And he took him all these and divided them in the midst, and he laid each part over against the other : but the birds he did not divide. 11. And the birds of prey came down on the carcasses, and Abraham drove

have been welded together : the author who makes God appear in a vision and show Abraham the stars, cannot be the same who makes Yahweh appear (ver. 7 *seq.*) some time before sunset ; especially as in each case God makes a promise separate and complete in itself. The writer who mentions the vision by night is probably the Elohist, of whom more shortly. (2.) The statement that the descendants of Abraham were to be 400 years in Egypt, ver. 13, is at least in apparent contradiction to that of ver. 16 that 'the fourth generation' would return. (3.) The Hebrew word which we have rendered 'substance' is unknown to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' but is constantly used by the 'Priestly Writer.' The expression 'good old age,' ver. 15, is employed by him xxv. 8 : while the phrase 'come forth out of thine own bowels' closely resembles his language in xxxv. 11, xlv. 26, Exod. i. 5. These facts point to alterations by the final editor of the Hexateuch. Moreover, the list of the nations, vv. 19, 20, is the most complete and probably the latest of all.

¹ 'Eliezer.' The Hebrew text has 'Damascus Eliezer,' which is senseless.

them away. 12. And when the sun was going down, a deep slumber fell on Abraham; and behold terror, great darkness falling upon him! 13. And [Yahweh] said to Abraham, 'Know of a surety that thy seed shall be strangers in a land which is not theirs, and shall serve them:' and they shall afflict them four hundred years. 14. And also that nation whom they shall serve will I judge: and afterwards will they come out with great substance.' 15. But thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; thou shalt be buried in a good old age. 16. But in the fourth generation shall they return hither: for the iniquity of the Amorite is not yet full.' 17. And it came to pass that when the sun went down and it was dark, behold, a smoking furnace and a flaming torch that passed between these pieces. 18. In that day Yahweh made a covenant¹ with Abraham, saying, 'To thy seed will I give this land from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates; 19. the [land of the] Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Rephaim; 20. the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.'

XVI. . . . 2. And Sarah said² to Abraham, 'Behold now Yahweh has restrained me from bearing; go in I pray thee to my handmaid; it may be that I shall be built up from her.'

¹ 'Made a covenant.' I have retained the usual rendering, 'covenant.' But the Hebrew word means no more than a solemn engagement or promise (see the recent editions of Gesenius, and Frederic Delitzsch's *Hebrew and Assyrian*, p. 49). Further, the word translated 'made' means literally to 'cut.' It is generally supposed that the victims were cut in two, and that the person who made the engagement passed between the pieces, and so prayed that he might be cut in pieces if he broke his word. Another explanation of the rite is given by Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 461 *seq.* In any case, this story represents Yahweh as subjecting himself to the barbarous ceremonies which set the seal to engagements between man and man, and must belong to an early stage of religious thought. Contrast the conclusion of the story with which the chapter opens: 'Abraham trusted Yahweh, and Yahweh reckoned it to him as [a proof of] righteousness,' ver. 6. Here our document uses much later material.

² 'And Sarah said.' Our 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' is composed of two documents—that of the Jahvist and the Elohist. The story here comes from the Jahvist. He gives a legend which arose from the name of an Arab

And Abraham hearkened to Sarah's voice. . . . 4. And he went in to Hagar and she conceived : and when she saw that she had conceived, her mistress was despised in her eyes. 5. And Sarah said to Abraham, 'My wrong be upon thee : I gave my handmaid into thy bosom ; and when she saw that she had conceived, I was despised in her eyes ; let Yahweh judge between me and thee.' 6. But Abraham said to Sarah, 'Behold, thine handmaid is in thine hand ; do to her that which is good in thine eyes.' And Sarah dealt hardly with her, so that she ran away from her. 7. And the angel¹ of Yahweh found her by the spring of water in the desert, by the spring on the way to Shur. (8. And he said to her, 'Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, whence comest thou and whither art thou going?' And she said, 'I am fleeing from my mistress Sarah.' 9. And the angel of Yahweh said to her, 'Return to thy mistress and submit thyself beneath her hands.' 10. And the angel of Yahweh said to her, 'I will greatly multiply thy seed, that it shall not be numbered for multitude.') 11. And the angel of Yahweh said to her, 'Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son and shalt call his name Ishmael, because Yahweh has heard [the cry of] thine affliction. 12. And he shall be a wild ass of a man ; his hand shall be against every man and every man's hand against him, and he shall dwell to the east of all his brethren.' 13. And she called the name of Yahweh that spoke to her, 'Thou art a God that sees ;' for she said, 'Even

tribe, 'Hagar' being connected with the common Arabic 'hagara,' 'to flee,' whence the English loan-word 'Hegira,' the flight of the prophet, and from another tribal name, viz., Ishmael, meaning 'God hears.' Hagar quits her mistress for ever, and bears Ishmael in the wilderness. As, however, the compiler meant to insert another story of Hagar's flight written by the Elohist, he was obliged to add the verses in brackets, viz., 8, 9, 10, and make Hagar return for a time to Sarah. This fact is generally acknowledged, though Dillmann inclines to believe that these verses also belong to the Jahvist, and Kittel expresses himself doubtfully.

¹ 'Angel of Yahweh.' The Hebrew word 'mal'ak' means 'sending.' In the Jahvist it keeps its original sense, and indicates the manifestation of Yahweh, not a concrete personality. Hence—(1) there is one 'mal'ak' of Yahweh and not many ; (2) this 'mal'ak' is identified with Yahweh himself.

here¹ have I looked after him that sees me?' 14. Therefore the well is called the 'well of the living one that sees me;' behold, it is between Kadesh and Bered.

. . . XVIII. 1. And Yahweh appeared to him by the terebinths of Mamre, as he sat by the tent-door in the heat of the day. 2. And he lifted up his eyes and looked, and, lo, three men stood over against him: and when he saw them he ran to meet them from the tent-door, and bowed himself to the earth. 3. And he said, 'O Lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not now away from thy slave. 4. Let now a little water be taken and wash your feet, and recline under the tree: 5. and I will take a morsel of bread, that ye may comfort your heart: afterwards ye may pass on: forasmuch as ye are come to your slave.' And they said, 'So do as thou hast said.' 6. And Abraham hastened into the tent to Sarah and said, 'Make ready quickly three seahs² of fine meal, knead it and make cakes.' 7. And Abraham ran to the herd, and he took a calf tender and good, and he gave it to the servant and he hastened to dress it. 8. Then he took curdled milk and sweet milk and the calf which he had dressed and set it before them; and he stood by them under the tree while they ate. 9. And they said to him, 'Where is Sarah thy wife?' And he said, 'Behold, in the tent.' 10. And he said, 'I will certainly return to thee this time next year, and, lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son.' And Sarah heard in the tent-door, which was behind him. 11. Now Abraham and Sarah were old, well stricken in age; it had ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women. 12. And Sarah laughed within herself, saying, 'After I am withered shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also?' 13. And Yahweh said to Abraham, 'Why then did Sarah laugh, saying, "Shall I indeed bear a child, now that I am old?" 14. Is anything too hard for Yahweh? At the

¹ 'Even here: ' *i.e.* even in the desert, where she did not expect Yahweh's presence. What follows is translated from the Hebrew text, which, however, is probably corrupt.

² Three seahs = 1 ephah = rather more than a bushel.

set time I will return to thee this time next year, and Sarah shall have a son.' 15. And Sarah denied, saying, 'I did not laugh;' for she was afraid. And he said, 'Nay, but thou didst laugh.'

16. And the men arose thence and looked towards Sodom, and Abraham went with them to bring them on the way. 17. And Yahweh said, 'Shall I hide¹ from Abraham that which I do; 18. seeing that Abraham will surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall bless themselves in him? 19. For I have chosen him that he may command his sons and his household after him, that they may keep the way of Yahweh to do righteousness and judgment, that Yahweh may bring upon Abraham that which he has spoken concerning him.' 20. And Yahweh said, 'The cry concerning Sodom and Gomorrah is indeed great, and their sin is indeed very heavy. 21. I will go down now and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry concerning it which has come to me; and if not, I will know.' 22. And the men turned thence and went to Sodom,

¹ 'And Yahweh said, Shall I hide,' etc. Verses 17-19 are meant to prepare the way for that part of the story in which Yahweh remains behind with Abraham, who intercedes for Sodom, viz., 22^b—33^a. Dillmann and Kittel maintain the unity of authorship; Socin and Kautzsch admit that vv. 17-19 are a later addition, being doubtful about 22^b—33^a. But Wellhausen and Kuenen assign both 17-19 and 22^b—33^a to a secondary stratum of the Jahvist document. Their reasons, which seem to me convincing, are chiefly these :—(1.) According to these verses, Yahweh stays behind with Abraham, the two 'angels' go to Sodom, nor is it said that Yahweh went there afterwards. But, according to the original narrative, xviii. 21, Yahweh announces his intention of going to Sodom, and his presence there is implied xix. 21. (2.) In xviii. 22^b—33^a Yahweh has already determined the fate of Sodom, whereas, according to the older narrative, he has first to go and see whether the report of its guilt be true, xviii. 21. (3.) The Yahweh who eats and drinks and goes to Sodom for information is very like the Yahweh who walks in the garden of Eden, and goes down to see the tower of Babel. But the Yahweh of xviii. 22^b—33^a, 'the judge of the whole earth,' who must do right, before whom Abraham is 'dust and ashes,' is a very different being. (4.) When the two verses in question have been removed, not only is the narrative still connected, 33^b attaching itself naturally to 22^a, but it becomes smooth and consistent. Only in xix. 1, 'the three men' must be restored instead of 'the two angels,' which has been substituted for it.

and Abraham was still standing before Yahweh.¹ 23. And Abraham drew near and said, 'Wilt thou then consume the righteous with the wicked? 24. Perhaps there are fifty just men within the city: wilt thou then consume and not forgive the place for the fifty righteous that are in it? 25. That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked, that so the righteous should be as the wicked; that be far from thee: shall not the judge of the whole earth execute justice?' 26. And Yahweh said, 'If I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, I will forgive all the place for their sake.' 27. And Abraham answered and said, 'Behold now, I have undertaken to speak to the Lord, although I am dust and ashes: 28. perhaps there shall lack five of the fifty righteous: wilt thou destroy all the city for lack of five?' And he said, 'I will not destroy if I find there forty-five.' 29. And he spoke to him yet again and said, 'Perhaps forty shall be found there.' And he said, 'I will not do it for the forty's sake.' 30. And he spoke to him yet again and said, 'Let not now the Lord be angry and I will speak: perhaps thirty will be found there.' And he said, 'I will not do it if I find thirty there.' 31. And he said, 'Behold now, I have undertaken to speak to the Lord: perhaps twenty shall be found there.' And he said, 'I will not destroy for the twenty's sake.' 32. And he said, 'Let not now the Lord be angry and I will speak only this time: perhaps ten shall be found there.' And he said, 'I will not destroy for the ten's sake.' 33. And Yahweh went his way when he had finished speaking to Abraham, and Abraham returned to his place.

XIX. 1. And the two angels went to Sodom in the evening, as Lot was sitting in the gate of Sodom. And Lot saw them, and

¹ 'And Abraham was still standing before Yahweh.' Here the later § begins, and hence these words can only be reconciled with the former half by taking 'the men' to mean 'two of the men,' which cannot have been the meaning of the original writer. A Jewish tradition asserts that the second half of the verse ran 'Yahweh was still standing before Abraham,' and was altered by the scribes from motives of reverence. See Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 331. But the Masoretic text is supported by all the ancient versions.

rose up to meet them, and bowed down with his face to the earth.

2. And he said, 'Behold now, my lords, turn aside now to your servant's house, and tarry the night and wash your feet; and ye shall rise up early and go on your way.' And they said, 'Nay, but we will tarry the night in the street.'

3. And he urged them greatly, and they turned in to him and entered into his house; and he made them a feast and baked unleavened bread, and they ate.

4. But before they lay down, the men of the city, the men of Sodom, surrounded the house, young and old, the whole people without exception;

5. and they called to Lot and said to him, 'Where are the men that came to thee to-night? Bring them out to us that we may know them.'

6. And Lot went out to them to the entrance and shut the door after him.

7. And he said, 'Now, my brethren, do not so wickedly.

8. Behold, now, I have two daughters who have not known man: let me now bring them out to you and do ye to them as is good in your eyes; only to these men do nothing; for to this end¹ are they come under the shadow of my roof.'

9. And they said, 'Stand back.'

'This one fellow,' they said, 'came in to sojourn, and he must needs play the judge: now will we deal worse with thee than with them.'

And they pressed sore upon the man Lot and drew near to break the door.

10. But the men put forth their hand and brought Lot into the house to them and shut the door.

11. And they smote the men who were at the door of the house with blindness, both small and great, so that they strove in vain to find the door.

12. And the men said to Lot, 'Hast thou here any besides? Son-in-law and thy sons² and thy daughters and whomsoever thou hast in the city, bring out of the place:

13. for we will destroy this place, for the cry concerning them is great before Yahweh; and Yahweh has sent us to destroy it.'

14. And Lot went out and spoke to his sons-in-law who were to marry

¹ 'To this end:' viz., to ensure their protection.

² 'Son-in-law and thy sons.' Nothing more is said of Lot's sons, and 'son-in-law' instead of 'thy sons-in-law' is strange. Dillmann conjectures 'thy sons-in-law,' omitting 'sons.'

his daughters, and said, 'Up, get you out of this place, for Yahweh is about to destroy the city.' And he was one who mocked in the eyes of his sons-in-law. 15. And as the dawn rose, the angels hastened Lot, saying, 'Up, take thy wife and thy two daughters who are here; lest thou be consumed through the guilt of the city.' 16. And he lingered, and the men took hold of his hand and his wife's hand and the hand of his two daughters through the mercy of Yahweh towards him: and they brought him forth and set him without the city. 17. And it came to pass when he¹ had brought them forth without, that he said, 'Escape for thy life; look not back, neither stay thou in all the circle [of the Jordan]; escape to the mountain lest thou be consumed. 18. And Lot said to them, 'Ah, no, Lord: 19. behold, now, thy slave has found grace in thine eyes, and thou hast magnified thy mercy which thou hast shown me in saving my life, and I cannot escape to the mountain: for fear that the evil overtake me so that I die. 20. Behold, now, this city is near to flee unto, and it is a little one: let me now escape thither—is it not a little one?—and my soul shall live.' 21. And he said, 'Behold, I have accepted thee in this thing also that I will not overthrow the city of which thou hast spoken. 22. Haste thee, escape thither, for I cannot do anything till thou be come thither.' Therefore the name of the city was called Zoar.² 23. The sun had risen on the earth when Lot came to Zoar. 24. Then Yahweh rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from Yahweh out of heaven;³ 25. and he overthrew those cities and all the circle and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew from the ground. 26. But his wife looked back behind him, and she became a pillar of salt.⁴ 27. And Abraham rose early in

¹ 'He:' *i.e.* Yahweh, who is present in, or is one of, the three men.

² 'Zoar:' *i.e.* 'littleness,' a name to which that part of the legend which occupies vv. 19-22 owes its origin.

³ 'From Yahweh.' Probably an antique expression, meaning 'from the sky,' like *ἐκ Διός*: 'out of heaven' is explanatory, and may be a later gloss.

⁴ 'A pillar of salt.' 'I have seen it,' says Josephus (*Ant.* i. ii. 4) 'for it remains even now;' while Irenæus (iv. 31. 3; 33. 9) assures us that the pillar

the morning to the place where he had stood before Yahweh : 28. and he looked down towards Sodom and Gomorrah and the whole land of the circle, and beheld, and, lo, the smoke of the land arose like the smoke of a smelting furnace.

30. And Lot went up¹ out of Zoar and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him ; for he was afraid to dwell in Zoar, and he dwelt in a cave, he and his two daughters with him. 31. And the first-born said to the younger, 'Our father is old, and there is not a man to come in to us after the manner of all the earth. 32. Come, let us make our father drink wine and we will lie with him, that we may preserve seed from our father.' 33. And they made their father drink wine that night, and the first-born went in and lay with her father ; and he did not know when she lay down or when she rose. 34. And it came to pass on the morrow that when she rose, the first-born said to the younger, 'Behold, I lay yesternight with my father ; let us make him drink wine this night also, that we may preserve seed from our father.' 35. And they made their father drink wine that night also : and the younger arose and lay with him : and he knew not when she lay down, nor when she rose. 36. Thus were both the daughters of Lot with child by their father. 37. And the first-born bore a son, and she called his name Moab : he

exhibited clear signs of life. As a matter of fact the winter rains wear the salt rock of the Hagar Usdum on the south of the Dead Sea into pyramids and cylinders. See the striking woodcut of the rock called 'Lot's Daughter' in Riehm's *Bibl. H.-W.* p. 926.

¹ 'Lot went up.' The hideous story which follows is ascribed by Dillmann Kittel, Kautzsch-Socin, etc., to some other writer than the Jahvist. It bears however, the marks of his style (as in the Hebrew words for 'preserve seed,' used by him in vii. 3), and he can scarcely have left Lot in Zoar without explaining how he came to the territory occupied by his descendants. 'Moral are not,' as Wellhausen rightly says, 'critical objections.' The Jahvist indeed speaks of Lot with respect, but, though he did not invent, he may have borrowed a story current in Israel. This story is inspired by hatred of Moab and Ammon, and is based on two fanciful etymologies. These are 'Moab' = 'from a father, or 'aqua, *i.e.* semen patris,' and 'Ammon' = ben 'ammi' = 'son of my people.' The LXX. clinch the matter, reading, 'She called his name Moab, saying "from my father";' 'She called his name Ammon, "the son of my clan."'

is the father of the Moabites to this day. 38. And the younger, she also bore a son, and she called his name Ben-ammi: he is the father of the children of Ammon to this day.

XX. 1. *And Abraham¹ journeyed thence to the land of the Negeb, and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur; and he dwelt [also] in Gerar.* 2. *And Abraham said of Sarah his wife, 'She is my sister;'* and Abimelech, king of Gerar, sent and took Sarah. 3. *But God came to Abimelech in a dream of the night, and said to him, 'Behold, thou art a dead man, because of the woman whom thou hast taken, for she is married to a husband.'* 4. *Now Abimelech had not come near her: and he said, 'Lord, wilt thou slay even a righteous nation?'* 5. *Did not he himself say to me, "She is my sister"?* And she, she also, said, *"He is my brother:": in the integrity of my heart and the innocency of my hands have I done this.'* 6. *And God said to him in the dream, 'I also know that in the integrity of thy heart thou hast done this, and I also withheld thee from sinning against me; therefore I did not suffer thee to touch her.'* 7. *And now restore the man's wife, for he is a prophet, and he will intercede for thee and thou shalt live: but if thou restore not, know that thou shalt surely die, thou and all that is thine.'* 8. *And Abimelech rose up early in the morning and called all his servants, and told all these things in*

¹ 'And Abraham,' etc. The 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' has been chiefly compiled from two documents, that of the Jahvist and that of the Elohist. In this chapter we meet for the first time with a connected narration from the Elohist's hand. Here all critics are at one—Ilggen, Hupfeld, Knobel, Ewald, Schrader, Kayser, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Kittel, Delitzsch. The Elohist speaks of God (Elohim), and does not use the personal name Yahweh; and this is no accident, for according to him the personal name was first revealed to Moses (Exod. iii. 13-15). This mark of authorship is accompanied by others. Some of these are linguistic, and will be found in any good commentary, e.g. 'āmāh' for 'shiphchah'—'maid-servant,' here probably 'concubine.' Again, it is only the Elohist who represents Abraham 'as a prophet,' ver. 7; it is he who in ver. 13 makes Abraham agree with Sarah that they are to pass for brother and sister when they leave their original home, whereas according to the Jahvist in xii. 11 Abraham forms this plan when about to visit Egypt. Further characteristics of the Elohist will appear in the subsequent portions of the Hexateuch which are certainly his. They are printed in italic type.

their ears : and the men were sore afraid. 9. Then Abimelech called Abraham and said to him, 'What hast thou done to us? And wherein have I sinned against thee that thou hast brought upon me and on my kingdom great sin? Deeds which are not to be done, hast thou done to me.' 10. And Abimelech said to Abraham, 'What hadst thou in view, that thou hast done this thing?' 11. And Abraham said, 'Because I thought surely there is no fear of God in this place, and they will slay me for my wife's sake. 12. And moreover she is indeed my sister, the daughter of my father,¹ but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife. 13. And it came to pass, when God² caused me to wander from my father's house, that I said to her, 'This is the kindness which thou shalt do to me; at every place to which we shall come, say of me "He is my brother."' 14. And Abimelech took sheep and oxen, and slaves and handmaidens, and gave them to Abraham, and restored him Sarah his wife. 15. And Abimelech said, 'Behold, my land is before thee: dwell where it pleases thee.' 16. And to Sarah he said, 'Behold, I give thy brother a thousand silver pieces: behold, in this thou hast that which will make all who are with

¹ 'Daughter of my father.' Marriage with a half-sister who had the same father but a different mother was permissible among many ancient nations, and may be a survival of times when kinship was only traced through the female line. To confine ourselves to the Semites, marriage with a half-sister, not uterine, was lawful among the Phœnicians, the Arabs during 'the ignorance,' i.e. before Mohammed, and the Hebrews at least as late as David (2 Sam. xiii. 13). It existed in Ezekiel's time, though he condemns it (xxii. 11); and it is also condemned by the Deuteronomist (xxvii. 22), and the 'Priestly Writer' (Lev. xviii. 9). See Robertson Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, ch. vi.

² 'When God.' Here, as in xxxv. 7, the Elohist connects the word for God, plural in form but usually singular in sense, with a plural verb. At first Elohim may have meant 'objects of fear' (Arab. *ālīhā*, 'to be terrified'), the spirits of a place considered collectively. Hence, when the animistic stage of religion was passed, it might mean either the one god whom the Hebrews worshipped or the many gods of the heathen. The etymological connection of the word is, however, very doubtful. The view given is that of Fleischer and Delitzsch; others, e.g. Dillmann and Bähgen connect it with El, and that again is of uncertain meaning. For the usage of the words El, Elohim, and the singular Eloah, which never occurs in the Hexateuch except in Deut. xxxii., see Bähgen, *Semitische Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 270-310.

*thee close their eyes [to the dishonour done to thee], so that thou art justified before all.*¹ 17. *And Abraham interceded with God, and God healed Abimelech and his wife, and his maidservants, so that they bore children.* 18. (For Yahweh² had closed every womb in the house of Abimelech because of Sarah, Abraham's wife.)

XXI. 1^a. *And Yahweh*³ *visited Sarah as he had said.* 2^a. *And Sarah conceived and bore Abraham a son in his old age.* 6. *And Sarah said, 'God has prepared laughter for me: every one that heareth will laugh at me.'* 7. *And she said, 'Who would have said to Abraham that Sarah would give children suck, for I have borne him a son in his old age?'* 8. *And the child grew and was weaned: and Abraham made a great feast on the day that Isaac was weaned.* 9. *And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, whom she had borne to Abraham, playing.* 10. *And she said to Abraham, 'Drive forth this maidservant and her son: for the son of this maidservant shall not inherit with my son, with Isaac.'* 11. *And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his son.* 12. *And God said to Abraham, 'Let it not be grievous in thine eyes because of the boy and because of thy maidservant; in all that Sarah says to thee, hearken to her voice; for it is through Isaac that there will be any mention of thy descendants.'* 13. *And also of the son of the maidservant will I make a nation, for he is thy seed.* 14. *And Abraham rose up early in the*

¹ 'Thou art justified before all.' This translation involves a slight change in the Masoretic pointing.

² 'For Yahweh,' etc. This verse is an addition by the editor who united the Jahvist and Elohist documents. He (1) says 'Yahweh' instead of 'Elohim'; (2) misunderstands the Elohist document which he used; he forgets that Abimelech had been struck with sickness, and leaves the impression that the barrenness was merely in the women.

³ 'And Yahweh,' etc. The Jahvist, Elohist, and 'Priestly Writer' must all have mentioned Isaac's birth, and hence it is difficult to decide on the authorship of verses 1, 2, 6, 7. I have adopted Dillmann's division, but without much confidence that the Elohist in these verses can be always distinguished from the Jahvist. From ver. 8 onwards the hand of the Elohist is clear and undoubted. This is proved by the use of 'Elohim,' 'āmāh,' etc., and still more by the fact that the Jahvist has already given his version of the story in ch. xvi.

morning, and took bread and a bottle of water, and gave it to Hagar, and placed the child upon her shoulder¹ and sent her away, and she departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba.

15. And the water in the bottle was spent, and she cast down the child under one of the bushes. 16. And she went and sat down apart at the distance of a bowshot: for she said, 'Let me not look at the child's death:' therefore she sat apart, and the child lifted up its voice and wept.² 17. And God heard the cry of the boy, and the angel of God called to Hagar from the heaven, and said to her, 'What ails thee, Hagar? Fear not, for God has heard the boy's cry, where he is. 18. Arise, lift up the boy and take hold of him, for I will make him a great nation.' 19. And God opened her eyes, so that she saw a well of water; and she went and filled the bottle with water, and gave the boy drink. 20. And God was with the boy, and he grew up: and he dwelt in the wilderness and became a shooter,³ (an archer). 21. And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran, and his mother took a wife for him out of the land of Egypt.

22. And it came to pass⁴ at that time that Abimelech and Phicol the captain of his host spoke to Abraham, saying, 'God is with thee in all that thou doest. 23. Now therefore swear to me here by God, that thou wilt not deal falsely with me, nor with my offspring, nor with my posterity; but according to the kindness which I have

¹ 'Placed the child upon her shoulder.' The Masoretic text makes Abraham simply give the child to Hagar. I have followed the LXX. reading. The Masoretic text has been altered to bring this chapter, which is by the Elohist, into harmony with the 'Priestly Writer,' according to whom, ver. 25, Ishmael would now be about fourteen, and so much too old for his mother to carry. That, however, the Elohist had a very different view of Ishmael's age is plain from ver. 15, where, according to the Masoretic text itself, Hagar 'casts down the child.'

² 'The child lifted up,' etc., LXX.

³ 'A shooter.' This is one of the unusual words of which the Elohist is fond. The common word 'archer,' which is added, is probably an old gloss.

⁴ 'And it came to pass,' etc. What follows (22-31) is admittedly from the Elohist; and the arguments of Kautzsch and Socin, that there is some mixture of documents, are not convincing. In ver. 28 Abraham is said to take 'the seven lambs,' although they have not been mentioned before, because the sacredness of the number seven, which may refer to the seven planets, was

done to thee, shalt thou do to me and to the land in which thou hast sojourned. 24. *And Abraham said, 'I will swear.'* 25. *But Abraham reproved Abimelech because of the well of water which Abimelech's slaves had taken by violence.* 26. *And Abimelech said, 'I do not know who has done this thing: neither didst thou tell me, nor did I hear of it till to-day.'* 27. *And Abraham took sheep and oxen, and gave them to Abimelech, and they two made a covenant.* 28. *And Abraham set the seven ewe lambs of the flock by themselves.* 29. *And Abimelech said to Abraham, 'What mean those seven ewe lambs which thou hast set by themselves?'* 30. *And Abraham said, 'The seven lambs shalt thou take from my hand, that it may be a witness for me that I have dug this well.'* 31. *Therefore this place is called Beersheba: because there they sware both of them.*

32. And they made¹ a covenant in Beersheba: and Abimelech rose up, and Phicol the captain of his host, and returned to the land of the Philistines. 33. And he planted a tamarisk tree in Beersheba, and called there on the name of Yahweh, the everlasting God. 34. And Abraham sojourned in the land of the Philistines many days.

widely acknowledged among the Semites. The common Hebrew word for 'swear' meant originally 'to come under the influence of the number seven.' Beersheba means 'seven wells,' and was, with Dan—where also there was a fountain—a chief place of pilgrimage for the northern Israelites. See Amos viii. 14. Here, as elsewhere, the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' purifies the old heathen shrines by connecting them with the history of the saints and heroes of Israel, the worshippers of 'God' or 'Yahweh.' The story told here has grown from the connection in sound and sense between the Hebrew words for 'seven,' and for 'to swear,' 'oath,' etc.

¹ 'And they made.' The origin of vv. 32-34 is disputed and uncertain. 33 must belong to the Jahvist. It uses the name Yahweh, and assigns another reason than that given by the Elohist for the sanctity of Beersheba. Nor can 32^b belong to the Elohist. He regards Abraham while at Beersheba as a settler in Philistia. Here Abimelech and his marshal leave Philistia apparently to meet Abraham and then return thither. 32^a is generally assigned to the Elohist, but seems superfluous in him, as he has already mentioned the covenant at Beersheba. 34 may be a fragment from some other narrative now lost. It is out of all connection here. Thus I assign 32, 33 to the Jahvist, and give no opinion on 34.

XXII. 1. *And it came to pass¹ after these things that God proved Abraham, and said to him, 'Abraham;'* and he said, 'Here am I.' 2. *And he said, 'Take now thy son, thine only son, whom thou lovest, Isaac, and get thee to the land of . . . ,² and offer him as a burnt offering on one of the mountains which I will tell thee of.'* 3. *And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took his two servants with him, and Isaac his son; and he cleft the wood for the burnt offering, and went to the place of which God had told him.* 4. *On the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw the place afar off.* 5. *And Abraham said to his servants, 'Stay ye here with the ass: and I and the boy will go yonder, and will worship and come again to you.'* 6. *And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering and laid it on Isaac his son, and he took in his hand the fire and the knife; and they two went together.* 7. *And Isaac spoke to Abraham his father, and said, 'My father;'* and he said, 'Here am I, my son.' And

¹ 'And it came to pass,' etc. (xxii. 1-19). Here the story of Abraham's sacrifice, xxii. 1-13, 19 is admittedly by the Elohist. Notice the use of the divine name; the angel who calls from heaven here (ver. 11) as in the former Elohist chapter (xxi. 17); the reference in the words 'only son' to the former Elohist chapter, which tells (xxi. 14) how Ishmael had been sent away, so that only Isaac was left; etc. etc. But in 14-18 we have a § which can be separated from the rest without impairing the sense, and there 'Yahweh' occurs four times and Elohim never. These verses must have been added by one who wished to amplify the promise to Abraham and add to its solemnity. Who was the author? Not the Jahvist. He, to dismiss all difficulties from the relative dates of the Jahvist and Elohist, would not have left the name 'Elohim' or 'God' unaltered in the rest of the narrative. The addition, then, must have been made by the editor who united the Jahvist and the Elohist documents. The words, 'It is the oracle of Yahweh,' ver. 16, only occur in one other passage of the Pentateuch, and that a very late one, viz. Num. xiv. 28. The purpose of the whole story is to show that human sacrifices, common among the Semites generally, and by no means unknown in Israel, were not approved by God.

² 'The land of . . .' Our present Hebrew text has 'the land of Moriah.' This is intended to glorify the mount of the Temple, but so the Elohist did not write. For (1) there was a mountain, but no land, of Moriah; (2) the name Moriah only occurs 2 Chron. iii. 1, and Baudissin (*Stud.* ii. p. 252 n.) is probably right in supposing that the name Moriah was first given in allusion to the story before us. It is vain to conjecture what the Elohist wrote.

he said, 'Behold the fire and the wood : but where is the sheep for the burnt offering?' 8. And Abraham said, 'God will provide himself a sheep for the burnt offering, my son.' So they went both of them together. 9. And they came to the place which God had told him of ; and Abraham built the altar there, and laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac his son, and placed him on the altar over the wood. 10. And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son. 11. And the angel of God¹ called to him from the heaven and said, 'Abraham, Abraham:' and he said, 'Here am I.' 12. And he said, 'Stretch not forth thine hand against the boy, neither do thou anything to him : for now I know that thou fearest God, since thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me.' 13. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and behold, a ram behind² [him] was caught in the thicket by its horns ; and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered it up for a burnt offering instead of his son. 14. And Abraham called the name of that place 'Yahweh will see : ' so that it is said at this day, 'On the mountain where Yahweh is seen.' 15. And the angel of Yahweh called to Abraham the second time from the heaven ; 16. and he said, 'By myself I swear,—it is the oracle of Yahweh,—because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only one: 17. that I will bless thee abundantly, and will multiply thy descendants as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand on the sea-shore ; and thy descendants shall possess the gate of their enemies ; 18. and in thy descendants shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves ; because thou hast obeyed my voice.' 19. And Abraham returned to his servants, and they arose and went together to Beersheba ; and Abraham dwelt in Beersheba. 20. And it came to pass³ after these things, that it was told

¹ 'Angel of God.' Hebrew text, and all versions except Syr., 'angel of Yahweh,' which must be due to an editor or the carelessness of a scribe.

² 'A ram behind.' Some Hebrew MSS., Sam., LXX., Syr., read 'one ram,' meaning that, while rams are usually found with the flock, this ram was alone.

³ 'And it came to pass.' The notice of Nahor's family probably comes from the Jahvist, because it prepares the way for ch. xxiv., which is admittedly by him. So Budde, followed by Dillmann, Kittel, Delitzsch. But 'after

Abraham, saying, 'Behold, Milcah, she also has borne children to Nahor thy brother.' 21. Uz his firstborn, and Buz his brother, and Kemuel the father of the Aramæans; 22. and Chesed, Hazo, Pildash, Jidlaph, and Bethuel. 23. And Bethuel begot Rebekah: these eight Milcah bore to Nahor the brother of Abraham. 24. And his concubine, whose name was Reumah, she also bore Tebah, Gaham, Tahash, and Maacah.

. . . XXIV. 1. And Abraham was old, stricken in years, and Yahweh had blessed Abraham in everything. 2. And Abraham said to his slave, the overseer of his house, who managed all that he had, 'Put now thy hand beneath my thigh; 3. and I will make thee swear by Yahweh the God of heaven and the God of the earth, that thou shalt not take a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell: 4. but thou shalt go to my land and to my kindred, and take a wife for my son Isaac.' 5. And the slave said to him, 'Perhaps the woman will not be willing to come after me to this land: must I needs bring thy son again to the land from whence thou didst go forth?' 6. And Abraham said to him, 'Beware of bringing my son thither again. 7. Yahweh the God of the heavens who took me from my father's house and from the land of my kinsfolk, and that spoke to me and swore to me, saying, "To thy descendants will I give this land,"—he will send his angel before thy face, and thou shalt take a wife for my son from thence. 8. And, should the woman be unwilling to go after thee, then thou shalt be clear from this oath to me: only thou shalt not bring my son thither again.' 9. And the slave put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his lord, and swore to him concerning this thing. 10. And the slave took ten camels from the camels of his lord,¹ having all

these things' is a phrase of the Elohist, and, though it does not justify Wellhausen in assigning the section to him, it proves that there has been admixture of documents. The Aramæans or Syrians are here divided into twelve tribes, an arrangement of which the Semites were fond. See Reuss (*Gesch. d. A. T.* p. 43 *seq.*), and Stade (*Gesch. Isr.* i. p. 145 *seq.*).

¹ 'The camels of his lord.' The Hebrew awkwardly adds 'and went,' which is omitted in the LXX.

goodly things of his lord's in his hand : and he arose and went to Aram of the two rivers, to the city of Nahor. 11. And he made the camels kneel down outside the city by the well of water at evening time, the time that the women go out to draw water. 12. And he said, 'Yahweh, God of Abraham my lord, send me, now, good speed to-day, and show kindness to Abraham my lord. 13. Behold, I stand by the fountain of water, and the daughters of the men of the city come forth to draw water : 14. and let it come to pass that the damsel to whom I shall say, "Let down thy pitcher, pray, that I may drink," and she shall say, "Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also ;" let the same be she whom thou hast appointed for Isaac thy slave ; and thereby shall I know that thou hast shown kindness to Abraham my lord.' 15. And it came to pass, before he had done speaking, that, behold, Rebekah came out who was born to Bethuel the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her pitcher on her shoulder. 16. And the damsel was very fair to look upon, a virgin, neither had any man known her : and she went down to the fountain and filled her pitcher and came up. 17. And the slave ran to meet her and said, 'Pray, give me a little water to drink from thy pitcher.' 18. And she said, 'Drink, my lord ;' and she made haste to let down her pitcher on her hand, and gave him drink. 19. And when she had done giving him drink, she said, 'I will draw for thy camels also, till they shall have done drinking.' 20. And she made haste to empty her pitcher into the trough, and she ran again to the well to draw, and drew for all his camels. 21. And the man gazed at her in silence to know whether Yahweh had prospered his way or no. 22. And it came to pass when the camels had done drinking, that the man took a nose-ring of gold, weighing half a shekel, and two golden bracelets for her hands, weighing ten shekels. 23. And he said, 'Whose daughter art thou ? pray tell me. Is there room in thy father's house for us to spend the night there ?' 24. And she said to him, 'I am the daughter of Bethuel the son of Milcah, whom she bore to Nahor.' 25. And she said to him,

'We have both straw and fodder enough, room also to pass the night there.' 26. And the man inclined and bowed down to Yahweh. 27. And he said, 'Blessed be Yahweh the God of Abraham my lord, who has not failed in his kindness and truth to my lord: as for me, in the way has Yahweh led me to the house of my lord's brethren.' 28. And the damsel ran and told her mother's household¹ what had happened. 29^a. And Rebekah² had a brother, and his name was Laban. 30^a. And it came to pass when he saw the nose-ring and the bracelets on his sister's hands, and when he heard the words of his sister Rebekah, saying, 'Thus spoke the man to me,' 29^b. that Laban ran out to the man at the fountain. 30^b. And he came to the man, and, behold, he was standing by the camels at the fountain. 31. And he said, 'Come in, thou blessed of Yahweh: why standest thou without? For I have prepared the house and room for the camels.' 32. And the man came into the house, and he [Laban] ungirded the camels, and gave straw and fodder for the camels, and water to wash his feet and the men's feet who were with him. 33. And he set meat before him; but he said, 'I will not eat till I have told mine errand.' And he said, 'Speak on.' 34. And he said, 'I am Abraham's slave. 35. And Yahweh has blessed my lord exceedingly, so that he has become great, and has given him sheep and cattle, and silver and gold, and male and female slaves, and camels and asses. 36. And Sarah, my lord's wife, bore my lord a son after she was old; and he has given him all that he has. 37. And my lord made me swear, saying, "Thou shalt not take a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanites in whose land I dwell. 38. But thou shalt go to my father's house and to my clan to take a wife for my son." 39. And I said to my lord, "Perhaps the woman will not follow me." 40. And he said to me, "Yahweh, before

¹ 'Mother's household:' *i.e.* she told it in the women's quarters, the harem.

² 'And Rebekah,' etc. Verses 29 and 30 as they stand in the Masoretic text are in confusion. The true order was restored in 1798 by Ilgen (*Urkund. p. Gen. p. 49*), and his correction is now generally accepted.

whose face I have walked, will send his angel with thee to prosper thy way, so that thou shalt take a wife for my son from my clan and my father's house. 41. Then shalt thou be clear of the oath to me, when thou comest to my clan : and if they give her not, then shalt thou be clear of the oath to me." 42. And I came this day to the fountain, and said, "O Yahweh, God of my lord Abraham, if now thou ~~meanest~~ meanest to prosper my way, which I go ; 43. then, as I stand at the fountain it shall be thus : the [first] maiden that comes out to draw water, to whom I shall say, 'Give me, pray, a little water to drink from thy pitcher,' 44. and who shall say to me, 'Both drink thou, and I will also draw for thy camels,' she shall be the wife whom Yahweh has appointed for my lord's son." 45. And, before I had done speaking with my heart, Rebekah came out with her pitcher on her shoulder, and went down to the fountain and drew : and I said to her, "Pray, give me to drink." 46. And she made haste to let down her pitcher from her shoulder, and said, "Drink, and I will give drink to thy camels also." And I drank, and she gave drink to my camels also. 47. And I asked her, and said, "Whose daughter art thou?" And she said, "I am the daughter of Bethuel the son of Nahor, whom Milcah bore him." And I put the ring on her nose and the bracelets on her hands. 48. And I inclined and bowed down to Yahweh, and blessed Yahweh the God of my lord Abraham, who had led me in the right way to take the daughter of my lord's kinsman for his son. 49. And now, if you will deal kindly and truly with my lord, tell me ; and if not, tell me ; that I may turn right or left.' 50. Then Laban and Bethuel answered and said, 'The thing proceeds from Yahweh : we cannot speak good or evil¹ to thee. 51. Behold, Rebekah is before thee ; take her and go, and let her be a wife to thy lord's son, as Yahweh hath spoken.' 52. And it came to pass, when Abraham's slave heard their words, that he bowed down to the earth unto Yahweh. 53. And the slave brought

¹ 'Good or evil : ' *i.e.* Yahweh has decided. Nothing, for or against, depends on us.

forth jewels of silver and of gold, and garments, and gave them to Rebekah : he gave also costly gifts to her brother and mother. 54. And they ate and drank, he and the men that were with him, and stayed all night : and they rose up in the morning, and he said, 'Send me away to my lord.' 55. And her brother and mother said, 'Let the damsel stay with us some days, say ten : after that thou canst go.' 56. And he said to them, 'Do not keep me back, now that Yahweh has prospered my way : send me away that I may go to my master.' 57. And they said, 'We will call the damsel, and inquire at her mouth.' 58. And they called Rebekah, and said to her, 'Wilt thou go with this man?' And she said, 'I will go.' 59. And they sent away Rebekah their sister, and her foster-mother, and Abraham's slave with his men. 60. And they blessed Rebekah, and said to her, 'O our sister, mayest thou become thousands of myriads, and may thy descendants possess the gate of them that hate them.' 61. And Rebekah arose, and her damsels, and they rode on the camels and followed the man : and the slave took Rebekah and went.¹ 62. But Isaac had come from . . . to Beer-lahai-roi,² and he was dwelling in the district of the Negeb. 63. And Isaac went out to meditate [?] in the field in the early evening, and he lifted up his eyes and saw, and, behold, there were camels coming. 64. And Rebekah lifted up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac she lighted off the camel. 65. And she said to the

¹ 'And the slave took Rebekah and went.' This is out of place, because Rebekah has already started. Further, Wellhausen has pointed out that Abraham suddenly disappears from the story. The slave leaves Abraham, and sets out for 'Aram of the two rivers.' He returns not to Abraham but to Isaac, not to Hebron or Beersheba, but to Beer-lahai-roi. Of various explanations given, the simplest is to suppose that the Jahvist mentioned here Abraham's death. The slave, finding him dead, went to Beer-lahai-roi, where Isaac was now living with a house of his own. The final editor of the Hexateuch was obliged to mutilate the Jahvist account, because he gave the notice of Abraham's death in the words of the 'Priestly Writer.'

² 'Isaac had come,' etc. The Masoretic text is corrupt. I have followed Kautzsch and Socin. See Dillmann, who proposes two other emendations, one based on the LXX. and Sam.

slave, 'Who is yonder man that walks in the field to meet us?' And the slave said, 'It is my lord : ' and she took her veil and covered herself. 66. And the slave told Isaac all the things that he had done. 67. And Isaac brought her into the tent¹ . . . and she became his wife and he loved her : and Isaac was comforted after his father's death.

XXV. 1. And Abraham took another wife,² and her name was Keturah. 2. And she bore him Zimran, Yokshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah. 3. And Yokshan begot Sheba and Dedan : and the sons of Dedan were the Asshurim, Letushim, and Leummim. 4. And the sons of Midian were Ephah, Ephr, Hanoah, Abida, and Eldaah. All these were the children of Keturah. 5. And Abraham gave all that he had to Isaac. 6. And to the sons of the concubines whom Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts ; and he sent them away, while he yet lived, from Isaac his son, eastward to the east country.

¹ 'Into the tent.' The Masoretic text adds 'of Sarah, his mother.' But these words cannot be construed as they stand in the sentence, and are rightly rejected by Dillmann and Wellhausen. In the last verse I follow many critics in substituting 'father's death' for 'mother's death.' For the reason, see note on ver. 61.

² 'And Abraham took another wife,' etc. The six verses at the beginning of this chapter are very puzzling. Hupfeld (*Quellen d. Gen.*) argued, and, as I think, proved, that they cannot belong to the 'Priestly Writer.' He assigned them to the Jahvist, and it is now generally agreed that they at least in substance belong to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' So Schrader (*Einleit.* p. 278), Wellhausen (xxi. 417), Budde (p. 225), Kittel (p. 138), Delitzsch. The views of Kuenen (§ 16, 12) and of Dillmann do not differ substantially, though Kuenen speaks as if the editor of the Hexateuch had here borrowed from some unknown source (but see § 6), and Dillmann assigns ver. 6 to an editor. (1.) The verses must come substantially from the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' Observe the Hebrew word for 'begot,' *yalad*, not *holid* as in the 'Priestly Writer'; the verb to express repetition (*wayyoseph*), common in our document, never used by the 'Priestly Writer,' the summing up 'all these were the children,' etc., in ver. 4, as before in x. 29^b. (2.) The verses as they stand cannot be entirely from the Jahvist, who in x. 28 attributes a different origin to Sheba. The mention of 'concubines' in the plural is also suspicious. (3.) The § must be out of its proper place. No author, having dilated on Abraham's extreme age and Isaac's marvellous birth, would go on to speak of his subsequent marriage and children, as if all had been a matter of course.

XXV. 11^b. Now Isaac dwelt by Beer-lahai-roi.¹ . . . 18. And they dwelt from Havila to Shur, which is east of Egypt, as thou goest to Assyria: eastward of all his brethren did he come to dwell. . . .

21. And Isaac entreated Yahweh for his wife, because she was barren, and Yahweh was intreated of him, and Rebekah his wife conceived. 22. And they thrust against each other within her, and she said, 'If it be so, why do I live?' And she went to consult Yahweh. 23. And Yahweh said,

'Two nations are in thy womb,
And two peoples shall be separated from thy bowels:
And one people shall be stronger than the other,
And the elder shall serve the younger.'

24. And her time to bear was complete, and, behold, there were twins in her womb. 25. And the first came forth ruddy, all over like a hairy garment, and they called his name Esau.² 26^a. And after that came forth his brother, with his hand holding Esau's heel, and they called his name Jacob. 27. And the boys grew, and Esau was a skilful hunter, a man of the field, and Jacob was a quiet man, dwelling in tents. 28. But Isaac loved Esau, because game was to his taste, but Rebekah loved Jacob. 29. Now Jacob boiled pottage, and Esau came from the field and he was faint. 30. And Esau said to Jacob, 'Feed me, pray, with the red stuff, that red stuff there, for I am faint:.' therefore they called his name Edom.³ 31. And Jacob said to Esau, 'First

¹ 'Now Isaac dwelt by Beer-lahai-roi,' etc. xxv. 11^b and 18 are mere fragments from our document, possibly altered; 11^b is clearly connected with xvi. 14; 18 with xvi. 12.

² 'Esau.' Supposed to be born hairy, because the name suggests this; compare Arabic 'A'thā. 'Ruddy' is suggested by another name of the nation, viz. Edom. As, however, the Jahvist gives a different explanation of the word 'Edom' in ver. 30, there must be some admixture in the text. The author also uses the Hebrew word 'Se'ar,' 'hair,' in allusion to 'Se'ir,' the mountain-land of the Edomites, and connects the name of Jacob with 'akev,' 'a heel.'

³ Another attempt to explain the national name Edom, viz. from 'ādom,' 'red.'

sell me thy birthright.' 32. And Esau said, 'Behold, I must die sooner or later: and what good then will the birthright do me?' 33. And Jacob said, 'First, swear to me.' And he swore to him, and sold his birthright to Jacob. 34. And Jacob gave Esau bread and lentil pottage, and he ate and drank, and arose and went his way: so Esau made light of his birthright.

XXVI. 1. And there was a famine in the land (besides the first famine¹ which took place in the time of Abraham), and Isaac went to Abimelech king of the Philistines to Gerar. 2. And Yahweh appeared to him and said, '(Thou shalt not go down to Egypt: dwell in the land of which I shall tell thee:) 3. sojourn in this land (and I will be with thee and will bless thee, for to thee and thy descendants will I give all these lands, and I will establish the oath which I swore to Abraham thy father. 4. And I will multiply thy descendants, as the stars of heaven, and to thy descendants will I give all these lands, and in thy descendants shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves; 5. because Abraham listened to my voice and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my law.) 6. So Isaac dwelt in Gerar. 7. And the men of the place asked about his wife, and he said, 'She is my sister,' for he feared to say, 'She is my wife,' 'lest' [said he] 'the men of the place slay me because of Rebekah, since she is fair to look upon.' 8. And it came to pass, when he had been there a long time, that Abimelech king of the Philistines looked out of the window and saw, and, behold, Isaac was sporting with Rebekah his wife. 9. And Abimelech called Isaac, and said, 'So then, she is thy wife: and how saidst thou

¹ 'Besides the first famine.' Dillmann points out that 2^b, 'dwell in the land I shall tell thee of,' is inconsistent with 3^a, 'sojourn in this land.' The words in brackets bear all the marks of amplification by a later hand, and ver. 5 closely resembles the style of the Deuteronomist, e.g. in Deut. xi. 1. Verses 15 and 18 are clearly additions by the compiler of the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' and are meant to connect this story told here by the Jahvist with the narrative of the Elohist, xxi. 25 *seq.* The whole story, xxvi. 1-11, must have had a different place in the original history. The Jahvist can scarcely have made Rebekah's beauty so dangerous after she was the mother of grown men.

"She is my sister"? And Isaac said to him, 'Because I said, "Lest I die because of her."' 10. And Abimelech said, 'What is this thou hast done to us? One of the people might easily have lain with thy wife, and thou wouldst have brought guilt upon us.' 11. And Abimelech charged all the people, saying, 'He that toucheth this man or his wife shall surely be put to death.'

12. And Isaac sowed in that land, and found in the same year a hundredfold, for Yahweh blessed him. 13. And the man waxed great and grew more and more, till he became very great; 14. And he had possession of flocks and herds and a great body of slaves, so that the Philistines envied him. 15. (Now all the wells which his father's slaves had dug in Abraham's time, the Philistines had stopped them and filled them with earth.) 16. And Abimelech said to Isaac, 'Go from among us, for thou art become much too mighty for us.' 17. And Isaac went thence and encamped in the torrent-bed¹ of Gerar and dwelt there. 18. (And Isaac dug again the wells of water which they had dug in the time of Abraham his father, and the Philistines had stopped them after Abraham's death, and he called their names after the names which his father had called them.) 19. And Isaac's slaves dug in the torrent-bed, and found there a well of springing water. 20. And the herdmen of Gerar strove with Isaac's herdmen, saying, 'The water is ours:' so he called the name of the well 'Contention,' because they contended with him. 21. And they dug another well, but they strove about it also; so he called its name 'Enmity.' 22. And he removed thence, and dug another well, and about it they did not strive; so he called its name 'Rehoboth,'² for he said, 'Yea, now has Yahweh made space for us, that we may be fruitful in the land.' 23. And he went up thence to Beersheba. 24. And Yahweh appeared to him the same night and said, 'I am the God of Abraham thy father: fear not, for I am with thee, and I will bless thee and multiply thy

¹ 'Torrent-bed.' See Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 496.

² Rehoboth = 'open spaces.'

descendants because of Abraham my servant.' 25. And he built an altar there, and called on Yahweh, and pitched his tent there. And there Isaac's slaves bored a well.

26. Then Abimelech went to him from Gerar, with Ahuzzath his counsellor and Phicol the captain of his host. 27. And Isaac said to them, 'Why have you come to me, seeing that you hate me, and have sent me away from you?' 28. And they said, 'We have seen plainly that Yahweh was with thee, and we said, "Let there be now a compact on oath between us and thee, and let us make a covenant with thee, 29. that thou wilt do us no hurt, as we have not touched thee, and as we have done thee nothing but good, and have sent thee away in peace: thou art now blessed of Yahweh."' 30. And he made them a feast, and they ate and drank. 31. And early in the morning they swore to each other, and Isaac sent them away, and they departed from him in peace. 32. And it came to pass the same day that Isaac's slaves came and gave him an account of the well which they had dug, and said to him, 'We have found water.' 33. And he called it Shibah:¹ therefore the name of the city is Beersheba to this day.

XXVII. 1. And it came to pass² that when Isaac was old and his eyes were too dim to see, that he called Esau his eldest son and said to him, 'My son,' and he said to him, 'Here am I.' 2. And he said, 'Behold, now, I am old; I know not the day of my death. 3. And now, pray, take thy weapons, thy quiver and thy

¹ Shibah=oath. Contrast the Elohist in xxi. 28 *seq.*, and see note on p. 34.

² 'And it came to pass,' etc., xxvii. 1-45. A popular myth to explain the fact that Edom, an older nation of the same stock as Israel, occupied the mountainous and mostly barren land between the Dead Sea and the Ælanitic Gulf. In this wild country a settled kingdom could not have arisen but for the wealth got from the caravans which bore the wares of India and South Arabia through Edom northwards to Palestine, Syria, and Phœnicia. (See Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* i. p. 122 *seq.*) The myth shows low conceptions of morality and religion. Isaac's blessing has a purely magical effect, and the Israelites felt no shame of the deceit by which they supposed it was got. Possibly, however, the Hebrew historian meant to raise the moral tone of the myth by relating the subsequent struggles of Jacob. The § is most interesting from a critical point of view. The following points are clear and admitted:—(1.) It

bow, and go out to the field and get for me a head of game : 4. and make me savoury meat such as I love, and bring it to me that I may eat ; that my soul may bless thee before I die.' 5. And Rebekah heard when Isaac spoke to Esau his son, and Esau went to the field to hunt game and bring it home. 6. And Rebekah spoke to Jacob her son, saying, 'Behold, I heard thy father speak to Esau thy brother, saying, 7. "Bring me game and make me savoury meat, that I may eat and bless thee before Yahweh ere I die." 8. Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice in regard to that which I command thee. 9. Go now to the flock, and fetch me thence two goodly kids of the goats, that I may make them for thy father into savoury meat such as he loves. 10. And thou shalt bring it to thy father, that he may eat ; in order that he may bless thee before he dies.' 11. And Jacob said to Rebekah his mother, 'Behold, Esau my brother is a hairy man and I am a smooth man. 12. Perhaps my father will feel me, and I shall seem to him a mocker and I shall bring on myself a curse and not a blessing.' And his mother said to him, 'On me be thy curse, my son ; only obey my voice and go fetch me them.' 14. And he went and fetched and brought them to his mother ; and his mother made savoury meat, such as his father loved. 15. And Rebekah took the goodly raiment of Esau her elder son, which were with her in the house, and put them on Jacob her younger son ; 16. and she put the skins of the kids

is a combination of a Jahvist and Elohist account. The name Yahweh occurs in 7, 20, 27, and there are many marks of the Jahvist style. The word Elohim is mentioned once, viz. in 28, but there are also marks of the Elohist style—*e.g.* in 16, 18, the form 'and he said "Here am I,"' as before in xxii. 1, 7, 11. (2.) The matter of the narrative witnesses to double authorship. Thus in 21-23 Isaac feels Jacob's arms, finds them hairy, and, taking him for Esau, gives his blessing. In 24-28^a the story begins over again. Isaac believes Jacob to be Esau because of the smell of his garments, and accordingly gives him the blessing. Compare also the two halves of vv. 30, 33, 34 with 35-38 ; the end of 44, 'until thy brother's fury turn away,' with the first words of the next verse, 'until thy brother's anger turn away.' (3.) It is impossible to make any complete severance between the Jahvist and the Elohist. Each has adopted and told substantially the same story.

of the goats on his hands and the smooth of his neck ; 17. and she gave the savoury meat and the bread she had made into the hand of Jacob her son. 18. And he went to his father and said, 'My father ;' and he said, 'Here am I : who art thou, my son ?' 19. And Jacob said to his father, 'I am Esau thy first-born ; I have done as thou didst bid me : rise now, sit and eat of my game, that thy soul may bless me.' 20. And Isaac said to his son, 'How then hast thou found it so quickly ?' And he said, 'Because Yahweh thy God brought it in my way.' 21. And Isaac said to Jacob, 'Come near now that I may feel thee, my son, whether thou be my son Esau or no.' 22. And Jacob went near to Isaac his father, and he felt him and he said, 'The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are Esau's hands.' 23. And he did not recognise him, for his hands were hairy like his brother Esau's hands : so he blessed him. 24. And he said, 'Art thou then my son Esau ?' And he said, 'I am.' 25. And he said, 'Bring it near to me that I may eat of my son's game, to the end that my soul may bless thee :' and he brought it near to him and he ate, and he brought him wine and he drank. 26. And his father Isaac said to him, 'Come near now and kiss me, my son.' 27. And he drew near and kissed him, and he [Isaac] smelt the smell of his garments and blessed him, and said, 'See, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which Yahweh has blessed.

28. 'And God give thee of the dew of the heavens
And of the fatness of the earth,
And plenty of corn and wine.

29. 'Let peoples serve thee,
And nations bow down to thee ;
Be thou a lord over thy brethren,
And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee ;
Cursed be every one that curses thee,
And blessed be every one that blesses thee.'

30. And it came to pass as Isaac had made an end of blessing Jacob, and it came to pass that Jacob had just gone out from the presence of his father Isaac, and Esau his brother came in from

his hunting. 31. And he also made savoury meat and brought it to his father, and said to his father, 'Let my father rise and eat of his son's venison, in order that thy soul may bless me.' 32. And his father Isaac said to him, 'Who art thou?' And he said, 'I am thy son, thy first-born, Esau.' 33. And Isaac trembled with trembling great beyond measure, and said, 'Who, then, was he who took game and brought it to me, so that I ate of all before thou camest, and blessed him? yea, and he shall be blessed.' 34. When Esau heard his father's words, then he cried with a cry great and bitter beyond measure, and said, 'Bless me, me also, my father.' 35. And he said, 'Thy brother came with guile and took thy blessing.' 36. And he said, 'Is it because they have called his name Jacob that he has supplanted me this twice? He has taken my birthright, and, behold, now he has taken my blessing.' And he said, 'Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me?' 37. And Isaac answered and said to Esau, 'Behold, I have set him as lord over thee, and all his brethren have I given him for servants, and with corn and wine have I sustained him: and what, then, can I do for thee, my son?' 38. And Esau said to his father, 'Is this blessing thine only one, my father? Bless me, me also, my father:' and Esau lifted up his voice and wept. 39. And Isaac his father answered and said to him, 'Yea, far from the fatness of earth be thy dwelling, And far from the dew of the heavens from above: 40. 'And by thy sword shalt thou live, and thy brother shalt thou serve;

But it shall come to pass, when thou strivest, [?]

That thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.'¹

41. But Esau watched for revenge against Jacob, because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him; and Esau said in his

¹ 'Break his yoke from off thy neck.' Edom was subject to Israel under David; rebelled under Joram of Judah (2 Kings xiv. 7, compare viii. 20 *seq.*), *i.e.* in the former half of the ninth century B.C.; was again subdued by Amaziah (2 Kings xiv. 7), B.C. 801-773; and finally won its freedom under Ahaz, B.C. 734-726 (2 Kings xvi. 6, LXX. text). The author of this verse must in any case have lived as late as Joram, probably much later.

heart, 'The days of mourning for my father are at hand; then will I slay my brother Jacob.' 42. And the words of Esau her elder son were told to Rebekah; and she sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said to him, 'Behold, Esau thy brother will sate his vengeance against thee by slaying thee. 43. And now, my son, listen to my voice; and arise, flee thou to Laban my brother in Haran; 44. with him must thou tarry some days, until thy brother's fury turn away; 45. until thy brother's anger turn away, and he forget what thou hast done to him: then will I send and take thee thence: why should I be bereft of both¹ of you in one day?'

XXVIII. 10. And Jacob went out² from Beersheba and went towards Haran. 11. *And he lighted on the [holy] place and tarried there all night because the sun was set, and he took one of the stones of the place and set it under his head, and slept in that place.* 12. *And he dreamt, and, behold, a ladder set upon the earth, and its top reached to the heavens, and, behold, the angels of God going up and down upon it.* 13. (And Yahweh stood beside him and said, 'I am Yahweh, the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac. The land on which thou liest, to thee

¹ 'Bereft of both.' Of one by murder, of the other by blood-revenge (Gen. ix. 6).

² 'And Jacob went out,' etc., 10-22. There can be no doubt that the verses in italics belong to the Elohist, and on this all are agreed. The name Elohim, the revelation in dream (as in xx. and often), the language, are decisive. Moreover, only when these verses are read by themselves is the story intelligible. Jacob comes to a holy place, and finds that it is holy by a vision in which the angels of God ascend and descend on a ladder. On waking, he promises to recognise the sanctity of the place and pay tithes, if the God of this place protects him. The interpolated verses, in which Yahweh promises him the land, throw the story into confusion, and are never alluded to in the sequel. Some part of these verses may be from the Jahvist, and the naïve statement that Yahweh 'stood beside Jacob' is in his manner. But the Jahvist has already mentioned Bethel in xii. 8 as a place where Abraham lived, and Kuenen seems right in assigning 13-16 (except the words 'and Jacob awoke from his sleep,' in 16, which may belong to the Elohist), with the latter half of 21, to the editor of the Jahvist and Elohist documents. The gloss at the end of 19 may be still later.

will I give it, and to thy descendants. 14. And thy descendants shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad westward and eastward, northward and southward, and all the tribes on earth shall bless themselves in thee and thy descendants. 15. And behold, I shall be with thee and will keep thee, whithersoever thou goest, and I will bring thee back to this land, for I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of.' 16. And Jacob awoke from his sleep and he said, 'Truly, Yahweh is in this place, and I knew it not.' 17. *And he was afraid, and he said, 'How dreadful is this place! This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of the heavens.'* 18. *And early in the morning Jacob took the stone which he had put under his head, and set it up for a pillar,¹ and poured oil on the top of it.* 19. *And he called the name of that place Bethel [=house of God], (but the name of the city was Luz at the first).* 20. *And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, 'If God will be with me and will keep me on this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, 21. and if I return in peace to my father's house, then (Yahweh will be my God, 22. and) this stone which I have set up as a pillar shall be a house of God, and of all that thou shalt give me I will faithfully give thee a tithe.'*²

XXIX. 1. Then Jacob³ went on his journey, and came to the

¹ 'A pillar.' The Hebrew word 'maššēbah' is technical, and means a sacred pillar, corresponding in sense and etymology to the Arab. 'nūsūb,' pl. 'ansāb.' Such stones—(1) marked out a place as sacred; (2) were thought to be chosen by the god as his special abode; (3) were, therefore, anointed by the worshipper, who by this act anointed the god, just as the host anointed his guest at a feast. Such 'anointed stones' were familiar to all Semitic nations. Our author elevates this ancient rite by connecting it with Yahweh and the history of the patriarchs. We shall find later that the Deuteronomist (Deut. xvi. 22) repudiates the pillar-worship altogether. So the *Koran*, Sur. v. 92, repudiates the ansāb.

² 'Tithes,' not, as in the later legislation, for the priests, but for the maintenance of the sanctuary, 'the service of the god of the land' being 'a burden on the land.' See Amos iv. 4, R. Smith, *Semitic Religion*, p. 229.

³ 'Then Jacob,' etc. In ch. xxix. (Jacob's marriage with Leah and Rachel, the birth of four sons by Leah), I have not attempted to separate

land of the sons of the east. 2. And he looked, and, behold, a well in the field, and, behold, three flocks of sheep lying there beside it; for from this well they watered the flocks; but the stone on the well's mouth was great. 3. And, when all the flocks were gathered there, then they rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep, and put back the stone on the well's mouth in its place. 4. And Jacob said to them, 'My brethren, whence are you?' And they said, 'We are from Haran.' 5. And he said to them, 'Do you know Laban the son of Nahor?' And they said, 'We do.' 6. And he said, 'Is it well with him?' And they said, 'It is well: and, behold, Rachel his daughter comes with the sheep.' 7. And he said, 'Lo, it is yet high day, neither is it time for the cattle to be gathered together: water the sheep and go, take them to the pasture.' 8. And they said, 'We cannot, till all the flocks be gathered together, and they roll the stone from the well's mouth; then we water the sheep.' 9. While he yet spoke with them, Rachel came with her father's sheep, for she tended them. 10. And it came to pass, as Jacob saw Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother's brother, and the sheep of Laban his mother's brother, that Jacob drew near, and rolled back the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep of Laban his mother's brother. 11. And Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice and wept. 12. And Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's kinsman and Rebekah's son, and she ran and told her father. 13. And it came to pass, when Laban heard the tidings of Jacob his sister's son, that he ran to meet him, and embraced him, and covered him with kisses, and brought him in to his house; and he recounted to Laban all that

the Elohist from the Jahvist document. In 31-35, where the name Yahweh occurs four times, we have admittedly the work of the Jahvist. For the rest Dillmann rightly observes that in ver. 16 Rachel is mentioned as if for the first time. Accordingly, he attributes on linguistic grounds, xxix. 2-14 or 15^a, 26 (where the Hebrew words for 'younger' and 'first-born' are those used by the Jahvist in xix. 31, xxv. 23 *seq.*), and of course 31-35 to the Jahvist; xxix. 1, 15 or 15^b-23, 25, 27, 28, 30 to the Elohist. With Dillmann, Kittel and Kautzsch-Socin agree substantially.

had happened. 14. And Laban said to him, 'Surely thou art my bone and my flesh.' And, when he had lived with him a full month, 15. Laban said to Jacob, 'Because thou art my kinsman, shalt thou serve me for nought? Tell me what thy wages are to be.' 16. Now Laban had two daughters: the name of the elder was Leah, and the name of the younger was Rachel. 17. And Leah had dull eyes, but Rachel was beautiful in form and beautiful in face. 18. And Jacob loved Rachel, and he said, 'I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy younger daughter.' 19. And Laban said, 'It is better that I give her to thee than that I should give her to another man: dwell with me.' 20. And Jacob served for Rachel seven years, and they were in his eyes as a few days for the love he had to her. 21. And Jacob said to Laban, 'Give me my wife, for my time is fulfilled, that I may go in to her.' 22. And Laban gathered together all the men of the place, and made a feast. 23. And it came to pass in the evening, that he took Leah his daughter, and brought her in to him; and he went in to her. 25. And it came to pass in the morning that, behold, it was Leah; and he said to Laban, 'What is this thou hast done to me? Did not I serve with thee for Rachel? And why hast thou beguiled me?' 26. And Laban said, 'It is not so done in our place to give the younger before the first-born. 27. Complete the [bridal] week with this one, and we will give thee the other also for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet other seven years.' 28. And Jacob did so and completed her [bridal] week, and he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife. 30. And he went in also to Rachel, and he loved Rachel also more than Leah; and he served with him yet other seven years.

31. Now Yahweh saw that Leah was slighted; so he opened her womb, but Rachel was barren. 32. And Leah conceived, and bore a son, and she called his name Reuben, for she said, 'Yea, Yahweh has looked on my affliction,¹ for now will my husband

¹ 'Has looked on my affliction.' The Jahvist seems to have connected the name Reuben with 'ra'ah be'oniyi' = 'has looked on my affliction'! For his derivation of the other names, see margin of the English Revised Version.

love me.' 33. And she conceived again, and bore a son, and said, 'Yea, Yahweh has heard that I am slighted, and has given me this one also;' and she called his name Simeon. 34. And she conceived again, and bore a son, and said, 'Now at last will my husband cleave to me, since I have borne him three sons.' Therefore she called¹ his name Levi. 35. And she conceived again, and bore a son, and said, 'Now do I praise Yahweh.' Therefore she called his name Judah: and she left bearing.

XXX. 1. *And when Rachel saw² that she bore Jacob no children, Rachel was jealous of her sister; and she said to Jacob, 'Give me children or else I die.'* 2. *And Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel, and he said, 'Am I in the place of God, who has kept back from thee the fruit of the womb?'* 3. *And she said, 'Behold my maid-servant Bilhah; go in to her, and she will beget on my knees,³ and I also may be built up from her.'*

¹ 'She called.' I follow the reading of Sam., LXX., Syr.

² 'And when Rachel saw,' ch. xxx. 1-43. Here vv. 25-43 belong almost wholly to the Jahvist, because the Elohist in xxxi. gives a different account of Jacob's business relations with Laban. In 1-24 the Jahvist and Elohist documents are mixed, but may generally be distinguished. For (1) we have the recurring use of Yahweh in one verse or half-verse, Elohim in the other. (2.) This difference of language is accompanied by others, e.g., the Jahvist calls a female slave 'shiphchah' (translated 'handmaid'), the Elohist 'āmāh' (translated 'maidservant'). (3.) We constantly find two accounts of the same thing placed together; sometimes e.g. two etymologies of the same name.

³ 'Beget on my knees.' This is the expression of the Elohist, who repeats it in ch. l. 23. And to this is added the parallel expression of the Jahvist, 'I will be built up from her,' as in xvi. 2. Among the Germans, placing on the knees was the symbol of adoption, and there are traces of a similar rite among the Greeks (*Od.* xix. 401 seq.; *Il.* ix. 455 seq.); and among the Bedouins. Stade (*Zeitsch. A. T. Wiss.* vi. p. 143 seq.) supposes that originally the wife actually bore the child on her husband's knee, a custom known to have been widely spread, and that taking a child on the knees at a later period of its life was a means of acknowledging paternity in the case of illegitimate offspring, and also a symbol of adoption. Just as the father made the child his own by allowing it to be born on his knees, so Rachel by the same process makes Bilhah's child her own. Stade refers to Grimm's *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 464 seq., to Ploss, *Lage und Stellung der Frau während der Geburt*, and to Mayeux, *Les Bédouins*.

4. And she gave him Bilhah her handmaid as a wife : and Jacob went in to her. 5. And Bilhah conceived, and bare Jacob a son. 6. *And Rachel said, 'God has decided for me, and has also heard my voice, and has given me a son.' Therefore she called his name Dan.* 7. And Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid, conceived again, and bore Jacob a second son. 8. *And Rachel said, 'In wrestlings [for the favour] of God have I wrestled with my sister, and have prevailed : ' so she called his name Naphtali.*

9. When Leah saw that she had left bearing, she took Zilpah her handmaid, and gave her to Jacob for a wife. 10. And Zilpah Leah's handmaid bore Leah a son. 11. And Leah said, 'Good fortune !' And she called his name Gad.¹ 12. And Zilpah Leah's handmaid bore Jacob a second son : 13. and Leah said, 'I am in luck ! For daughters [of men] must needs call me lucky : ' and she called his name Asher.

14. And Reuben went in the days of wheat harvest and found love apples² in the field, and brought them to his mother Leah. And Rachel said, 'Give me, pray, some of thy son's love apples.' 15. And Leah said, 'Is it a small matter that thou hast taken away my husband ? And wouldst thou take away my son's love apples also ?' And Rachel said, 'Therefore, he shall lie with thee to-night in exchange for thy son's love apples.' 16. And Jacob came from the field in the evening, and Leah went out to meet him, and said, 'Thou must come in to me, for I have surely hired thee with my son's love apples.' And he lay with her that night.

¹ 'Gad.' Leah says, 'In luck,' or, according to another reading, 'Luck has come.' Gad (in Syriac, a common word for 'luck') was the god of fortune. He is mentioned in Isa. lxx. 11, and his memory was preserved in the name of a place south of Hermon, viz., Baal Gad, *i.e.* 'Baal considered as good fortune,' Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7. His worship was widely spread in Syria, and was known to the Phœnicians, possibly also to the Babylonians. See Cheyne on Isa. lxx. 11, and Payne Smith, *Thesaur. Syr.* col. 649. The connection of Asher with a supposed goddess of luck, viz., Ashera, is much more doubtful. See Robertson Smith, *Semitic Religion*, p. 171 *seq.*

² 'Love apples.' 'The Jahvist must have related how Rachel became fruitful by means of these love apples,' Wellhausen xxi. 427.

17. *But God heard Leah, and she conceived, and bore Jacob a fifth son.* 18. *And Leah said, 'God has given me my hire, because I gave my handmaid to my husband : ' so she called his name Issachar.* 19. *And Leah conceived again, and bore Jacob a sixth son.* 20. *And Leah said, 'God has ~~presented~~ me with a good present : ' ¹ now at last will my husband honour [?] me, because I have borne him six sons : ' so she called him Zebulun.* 21. *And afterwards she bore a daughter, and called her name Dinah.*

22^b. *And God heard Rachel, and opened her womb.* 23. *And she conceived, and bore a son, and said, 'God has taken away ² my reproach.' 24. And she called his name Joseph, saying, 'May Yahweh add to me another son.'*

25. *And it came to pass, ³ when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Jacob said to Laban, 'Send me away that I may go to my place and to my country. 26. Give me my wives and my children for whom I have served thee, that I may go ; for thou knowest the*

¹ 'A good present.' The Elohist connects the name Zebulun with 'zabad,' 'to present,' the Jahvist with 'zabal,' 'to dwell,' or, according to Friedrich Delitzsch (*Prolegom. Hebr. Aram. W.-B.* p. 65), 'to exalt.'

² 'God has taken away.' The Elohist derives the name Joseph from 'asaph,' 'to take away,' the Jahvist from 'yasaph,' 'to add.'

³ 'And it came to pass,' etc., 25-43. This §, as has been said, belongs to the Jahvist as a whole. But in 25-28 we have clear instances of doublets, *i.e.* of parallel statements from two documents, and in 29-43 the text is obscure and probably corrupt. Jacob apparently agrees to take as his hire the abnormal sheep and goats which should be born in the future. Laban removes the abnormal sheep and goats, *i.e.* the sheep which instead of being white were black, the goats which instead of being dark, as Syrian goats generally are, were patched or spotted with white. He separates them at a distance of three days' journey, so that all the young in the future might have the normal colour, and be his, not Jacob's. Thereupon Jacob (1.) makes the flock conceive before parti-coloured rods ; (2.) turns the faces of the flock at the time of conception to the parti-coloured sheep and goats. This second device, mentioned in ver. 40, is inconsistent with the statement of ver. 36, that Laban had already put these parti-coloured animals far out of sight, and cannot belong to the original narrative. In ver. 31 the words 'will keep it' must be an addition by another hand. In ver. 32 I have avoided absolute contradiction by translating with Dillmann (against the accents). Even then the sense obtained is unnatural. For it is not the parti-coloured animals removed by Laban, but those born in time to come, which Jacob is to have.

service wherewith I have served thee.' 27. And Laban said to him, 'If now I have found favour in thine eyes, [tarry]: I have observed the omens, and Yahweh has blessed me for thy sake.' 28. And he said, 'Appoint me thy wages, and I will give it.' 29. And he said to him, 'Thou knowest how I have served thee, and how thy cattle has fared with me. 30. For it was little which thou hadst before I came, and it has spread itself abroad to a multitude, and Yahweh has blessed thee wherever I went: and now, when shall I also provide for my household?' 31. And he said, 'What shall I give thee?' And Jacob said, 'Thou shalt not give me anything; if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will again feed thy flock, and keep it. 32. I will pass through all thy flock to-day, removing thence every spotted and patched one: and every black one among the sheep, and the patched and spotted among the goats, shall be my hire. 33. And my own righteousness shall witness against me:¹ hereafter when thou shalt come to inspect my hire, which shall be before thee, every one that is not spotted and patched among my goats or that is not black among the lambs, is to count for stolen.' 34. And Laban said, 'Good, let it be according to thy word.' 35. And on that day he removed the he-goats that were striped and patched, and all the she-goats that were spotted and patched, every one that had white in it, and all the black ones among the sheep, and gave them into the hand of his sons; 36. and he set three days' journey between himself and Jacob: and Jacob fed the rest of Laban's flock. 37. And Jacob took him rods of fresh storax and of almond and plane tree, and made white streaks in them, laying bare the white which was in the rods; 38. and placed the rods which he had peeled in the gutters, in the water-troughs where the flocks came to drink over against the flocks. And they coupled when they came to drink. 39. And the flocks coupled before the rods and the flocks bore striped,

¹ 'My own righteousness shall witness against me': *i.e.* I shall be self-condemned.

spotted, and patched young. 40. And Jacob separated the lambs and set the faces of the flocks towards the striped and all the black in Laban's flock : and he put his own droves apart, and did not put them with Laban's flock. 41. And it came to pass that whenever the stronger of the flock coupled, Jacob put the rods before the eyes of the flock in the troughs, that they might couple before the rods : 42. but when the flock were feeble he did not put them in : so the feebler were Laban's and the stronger Jacob's. 43. So the man increased exceedingly, and had large flocks, and maidservants and slaves, and camels and asses.

XXXI. 1. And he heard the words¹ of Laban's sons, saying, 'Jacob has taken away all that was our father's, and of that which was our father's has he made all this wealth.' 2. *And Jacob beheld Laban's countenance, and, behold, it was not toward him as beforetime.* 3. And Yahweh said to Jacob, 'Return to the land of thy fathers, and to thy kindred, and I will be with thee.' 4. *And Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah to the field to his flock.* 5. *And he said to them, 'I see your father's countenance that it is not to me as beforetime, but the God of my father has been with me.* 6. *And ye know that with all my strength I have served your father :* 7. *and your father has deceived me, and has changed my wages ten times ; but God did not suffer him to hurt me.* 8. *If he said thus, "The spotted shall be thy wages," then all the flock*

¹ 'And he heard the words,' etc. Jacob flees, and is overtaken by Laban, xxxi. 1-45. Here, as Kuenen remarks, there is almost complete agreement among critics. The narrative, except a verse here and there, comes from the Elohist. We have the word 'Elohim' in 24, 42 ; the word for female slave, concubine, viz., 'amah,' peculiar to the Elohist ; in 33 the form of address and answer in 11, as e.g. in xxii. 11 ; 'the way of women' in 35, for which the Jahvist in xviii. 11 has quite a different expression. Here, as elsewhere, the Elohist, less of an anthropomorphist than the Jahvist, makes Yahweh appear in a dream, employing in ver. 24 the very words with which he introduced a similar dream in xx. 3. Finally, the Elohist's account of the relations between Laban and Jacob is different from that given in the former chapter by the Jahvist. Here Laban changes Jacob's wages ten times, and Jacob grows rich, not by magical tricks (as in the Jahvist), but by the direct blessing of God.

bore spotted; and if he said thus, "The striped shall be thy wages," then all the flock bore striped. 9. Thus God carried off the cattle of your father, and gave it to me. 10. And it came to pass at the time when the flock coupled that I lifted up my eyes, and saw in a dream, and, behold, the he-goats which mounted on the flocks were striped, spotted, and speckled. 11. And the angel of God said to me in a dream, "Jacob," and I said, "Here am I." 12. And he said, "Lift up now thine eyes and see, all the he-goats that mount on the flock are striped, spotted, and speckled; for I have seen all that Laban is doing to thee. 13. I am the God of Bethel, where thou didst anoint a pillar, where thou didst vow a vow to me: now arise, go forth from this land, and return to the land of thy birth." 14. And Rachel and Leah said to him, 'Have we still any portion or inheritance in our father's house? 15. Are we not counted strangers by him now that he has sold us,¹ and has consumed long since the money he got for us? 16. For all the riches which God has carried off from our father belongs to us and to our children; and now do all that God has said to thee.' 17. Then Jacob arose, and set his sons and his wives on the camels; 18^a. and led off all his cattle. 19. Now Laban was gone to shear his flock, and Rachel stole her father's teraphim.² 20. And Jacob outwitted Laban the Syrian by not letting him know that he was fleeing. 21. So he fled with all that was his, and arose and crossed the river [Euphrates], and set his face toward the mountain-district of Gilead.

22. And it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob was

¹ 'Sold us.' Not said in reproach. The 'mohar' (Arab. 'mahr,' Syriac 'mahra'), or price paid for a bride to her family, was a recognised institution in all Semitic nations, and this marriage by purchase succeeded the savage marriage by capture. Only having (quite rightly) sold his daughters, Laban had no further claim on them. They belonged to their 'ba'al,' i.e. owner or husband. The 'mohar' is mentioned Gen. xxxiv. 12, Ex. xxii. 16, 1 Sam. xviii. 25.

² 'Teraphim.' A word of doubtful etymology, meaning household gods. Their images were in human form (1 Sam. xix. 13), and were used for divination (Judges xviii., xix.; Hos. iii. 4). From them Laban might get 'the omens' mentioned above (xxx. 27).

fled. 23. And he took his kinsmen with him, and pursued after him seven days' journey, and overtook him in the mountain-district of Gilead. 24. And God came to Laban the Syrian in a dream by night, and said to him, 'Take heed to thyself that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad.' 25. And Laban came up with Jacob. Now Jacob had pitched his tent in the mountain-district of¹ . . . and Laban had pitched his tent in the mountain-district of Gilead. 26. And Laban said to Jacob, 'What dost thou mean by overreaching me, and leading away my daughters, as if they had been captives of the sword?' 27. Why didst thou flee secretly and deceive me, and not let me know, that I might send thee forth with mirth and songs, with tabret and harp: 28. and hast not suffered me to kiss my sons and my daughters? Now hast thou done foolishly. 29. It is in the power of my hand to do you hurt, but the God of thy father² spoke to me last night, saying, "Take heed to thyself that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad." 30. And, if thou must needs go because thou pinest for thy father's house, why hast thou stolen my gods?' 31. And Jacob answered and said to Laban, 'Because I was afraid; for I said, "Lest thou shouldst take thy daughters from me by force." 32. With whomsoever thou shalt find thy gods, he shall not live: before our kinsfolk, discern thou what is thine with me, and take it to thee.' For Jacob did not know that Rachel had stolen them. 33. And Laban went into Jacob's tent, and into Leah's tent, and into the tent of the two maidservants, and did not find them. And he went out from Leah's tent, and entered into Rachel's tent. 34. Now Rachel had taken the teraphim, and put them in the camel's saddle, and sat upon them, and Laban felt about all the tent and found nothing. 35. And she said to her father, 'Let not my lord be angry that I cannot rise up before thee, for the way of women is upon me.' And he searched, and found nothing. 36. And Jacob was angry, and reproached Laban; and Jacob answered and said to Laban, 'What

¹ 'Mountain-district of.' A proper name has fallen out, for the story implies that Laban and Jacob encamped in different places.

² 'God of thy father.' So Sam., LXX.: the Hebrew has 'your father.'

is my transgression? What is my sin, that thou hast hotly pursued after me? 37. Since thou hast felt about all my furniture, what hast thou found in all the furniture of my house? Set it here before my kinsfolk and thy kinsfolk, that they may decide between us. 38. This twenty years have I been with thee: thy ewes and thy she-goats have not miscarried, and the rams of thy flock have I not eaten. 39. That which was torn of beasts I did not bring to thee; I bore the loss of it; from my hand didst thou require it, whether stolen by day or stolen by night. 40. Thus I was; in the day the heat consumed me, and the frost by night, and sleep fled from my eyes. 41. These twenty years have I been in thy house; fourteen years I served thee for thy two daughters, and six years for thy flock; and thou hast changed my wages ten times. 42. Unless the God of my father, the God of Abraham and the awful God of Isaac, had been with me, surely now thou hadst sent me away empty. God has seen my affliction and the labour of my hands, and gave his decision last night.' 43. And Laban answered and said to Jacob, 'The daughters are my daughters, and the children are my children, and the flocks are my flocks, and all that thou seest is mine, and what can I do this day to these my daughters, and to their children whom they have borne?' 44. And now, come, let us make a covenant, I and thou; . . . and let it be¹ for a witness between thee and me.' 45. And he [Jacob] took a stone,² and set

¹ 'Let it be.' What is intended by 'it'? Not the covenant. That needed an external sign or witness, and could not be itself a witness. Besides, the word 'covenant' is feminine, the verb 'let it be' masculine. A proposal to set up a pillar must have fallen out, which pillar was to be the sign of the covenant. But then the rules of Hebrew grammar would require the change of the verb into the feminine.

² 'And Jacob took a stone,' 45-54. Here the accounts of the Jahvist and Elohist are intermingled. The Jahvist takes the name Gilead (really connected with Arabic 'Gal'ad,' 'hard') to mean 'gal'ed,' i.e. 'a cairn is witness.' This gal or cairn is set up as a sign of Jacob's compact that he will not ill-treat Laban's daughters. According to the Elohist it is a maṣṣeba or pillar which is set up to mark the boundary between the Hebrew and Syrian (Aramæan) nations. The writer has in his mind the struggle between these two races, which seems to have begun under Ahab in the former half of the ninth century B.C., and continued for more than a hundred years. Ahab lost

it up for a pillar. 46. And Jacob said to his kinsfolk, 'Gather stones;' and they took stones and made a cairn, and they ate there on the cairn. 47. (And Laban called it Yegar sahadutha,¹ and Jacob called it Ga'ed.) 48. And Laban said, 'This cairn is a witness between me and thee this day;' therefore he called its name Ga'ed 49. (and Mizpah,² for he said, 'May Yahweh watch between me and thee) when we are out of each other's sight. 50. If thou shalt afflict my daughters, and if thou shalt take wives beside my daughters, no man is with us [as witness or judge]: see, God is with us between me and thee.' 51. *And Laban said to Jacob, 'Behold this cairn, and behold the pillar which I have set up between me and thee. 52. This cairn be witness, and the pillar be witness, that I am not to pass over this cairn to thee, and that thou art not to pass over this cairn and this pillar to me for harm. 53. The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor be judges between us, (the God of their father.)'*³ *And Jacob swore by the awful God of his father Isaac. 54. And Jacob offered a sacrifice in the mountain, and called his kinsfolk to eat bread; and they ate bread and spent the night in the mountain.* XXXII. 1. *And early in the morning Laban⁴ kissed his sons and his daughters and blessed them; and Laban went away and returned to his place. 2. And Jacob went on his way, and the*

his life fighting for this very territory of Gilead (1 Kings xxii.). 'Jacob took a stone' must have been originally 'Laban took a stone,' as appears from ver. 51.

¹ 'And Laban called it Yegar sahadutha,' the Syriac for 'gal 'ed.' This verse is due to the pedantry of a later hand. For the Jahvist, and even the Elohist, though the latter calls Laban 'the Syrian,' make Leah and Rachel speak pure Hebrew when they name their children.

² 'And Mizpah.' Mizpah has not been mentioned before. But Mizpah in Gilead was well known, and a later hand may have substituted it here for 'masseba,' 'a pillar.' The LXX. have 'may God watch' instead of 'may Yahweh watch.'

³ 'God of their father:' wanting in LXX. and in some Hebrew mss. A manifest interpolation.

⁴ 'And early in the morning Laban,' etc., ch. xxxii. In this chapter 1-3 is by the Elohist. The name of the town, Mahanaim ('camps'), is made

angels of God met him. 3. And Jacob said when he saw them, 'This is the camp of God;' so he called the name of this place Mahanaim.

4. And Jacob sent messengers before him to Esau his brother, to the land of Seir, the field of Edom. 5. And he commanded them, saying, 'Thus shall you say to my lord Esau; "Thus says Jacob thy slave, 'I have sojourned with Laban and tarried till now: 6. and I got oxen and asses, sheep, and slaves and handmaids; and I have sent to tell my lord, that I may find favour in thy sight.'"' 7. And the messengers returned to Jacob, saying, 'We came to thy brother Esau, and, moreover, he is on the way to meet thee, and four hundred men with him.' 8. Then Jacob was greatly afraid, and was distressed: and he divided the people that were with him, and the flocks, and the cattle, and the camels into two bands; 9. and he said, 'If Esau come to the one company and smite it, then the company which is left shall

the basis of a myth that Jacob there met the 'angels of God,' of which the Elohist has already spoken in xxviii. 12. Accordingly, the § 4-14^a cannot be by the Elohist, and belongs in substance to the Jahvist. Here Jacob sends messengers to Esau. These return with the news that Esau is at hand with 400 men, whereupon Jacob takes the precaution of dividing his people and flocks into two bands ('mahanaim'); and this, according to the Jahvist, is the origin of the name Mahanaim. Jacob spends the night at Mahanaim. Notice 'shiphchah,' 'handmaid,' as elsewhere in the Jahvist. The next §, 14^b—22, is substantially from the Elohist. Jacob sends rich presents to his brother, and passes the night at Mahanaim. This is the natural continuation of 1-3, and the Elohist in ver. 22 leaves us at the same point of time and place as the Jahvist in 14^a. There is much more difficulty and difference of opinion about Jacob's wrestling with God in the form of an angel. The use of 'Elohim' is, as Delitzsch admits, not decisive. The general manner of the narrative is much more that of the Jahvist than of the Elohist. We have already seen, and shall see more fully, that by far the greater number of the gross anthropomorphisms belong to him; moreover, it is the Jahvist who from this point calls Jacob 'Israel.' See the excellent remarks of Kuenen (*Onderz.* §§ 13, 23, and 18). So Wellhausen, Kuenen, Kittel, Kautzsch-Socin, etc., against Dillmann. Here again the myth is etymological. The river Jabbok is fancifully connected with 'neavak,' 'to wrestle; 'Peniel or Penuel is taken, with better right, to mean 'face of God.' Israel really means 'God will strive,' not, as here, 'one who strives with God.'

escape.' 10. And Jacob said, 'O God of my father Abraham and God of my father Isaac, Yahweh, who didst say to me, "Return to thy country and thy kinsfolk, and I will do thee good:" 11. I am unworthy of all the mercies and the faithfulness which thou hast shown to thy servant; for with [nothing but] my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands. 12. Pray, deliver me from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau; for I fear him, lest he come and smite me, the mother with the children. 13. And thou didst say, "I will surely do thee good, and I will make thy descendants as the sand of the sea which cannot be numbered for multitude.'" 14. And he spent that night there. *And he took of that which he had with him a present for his brother Esau; 15. two hundred she-goats and twenty he-goats, two hundred ewes and twenty rams, 16. thirty milch camels and their colts, forty heifers and ten bullocks, twenty she-asses and ten foals. 17. And he gave them into the hand of his slaves, each drove apart, and he said to his slaves, 'Pass over before me, and leave a space between drove and drove. 18. And he commanded the foremost, saying, 'When Esau my brother meets thee, and asks thee, saying, "To whom dost thou belong? and whither goest thou? and to whom do these [beasts] belong that are before thee?" 19. then thou shalt say, "They belong to Jacob thy slave; it is a present sent to my lord Esau: and, behold, he also is behind us."*' 20. And he commanded also the second, and the third, and all that followed the droves, saying, 'In this manner shall ye speak to Esau when you find him. 21. And ye shall say, "Behold, also, thy slave Jacob is behind us;"' for he said, 'I will appease him with the present that goes before me, and afterwards I will see his face; perhaps he will receive me.' 22. So the present crossed before him, while he himself passed that night in the encampment.

23. And he rose that night, and took his two wives and his two handmaids and his eleven children, and crossed the ford of the Jabbok. 24. And he took them and sent them over the torrent-bed, and he sent over that which he had. 25. And Jacob

was left alone, and a man wrestled till the break of day. 26. And when he [the man] saw that he could not overpower him, he touched the hollow of his thigh, and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was dislocated, while he wrestled with him. 27. And he said, 'Let me go, for it is daybreak : ' but he said, 'I will not let thee go unless thou bless me.' 28. And he said to him, 'What is thy name?' And he said, 'Jacob.' 29. And he said, 'Thy name shall no longer be called Jacob, but Israel, since thou hast striven with God and with men, and hast prevailed.' 30. And Jacob asked and said, 'Tell me, pray, thy name : ' and he said, 'Why is it that thou dost ask after my name?' And he blessed him there. 31. And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel, 'for,' [said he,] 'I have seen God face to face, and have escaped with my life. 32. And the sun rose on him as he passed Penuel, and he limped because of his thigh. 33. Therefore the children of Israel¹ do not eat the sinew of the hip, which is on the hollow of the thigh, to this day ; because he touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew of the hip.

XXXIII. 1. And Jacob lifted up² his eyes and looked, and, behold, Esau came, and with him four hundred men ; and he apportioned the children to Leah, and to Rachel, and to the two handmaids : 2. and he set the handmaids and their children foremost, and Leah and her children after, and Rachel and Joseph in the rear. 3. And he passed before them, and bowed down to the ground seven times, till he came near to his brother. 4. And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him : and they wept. 5. And he lifted up his

¹ 'Therefore the children of Israel,' etc. This verse is generally supposed to be a gloss.

² 'And Jacob lifted up,' etc., ch. xxxiii. It is clear that here the main thread of the story comes from the Jahvist, not only because of the language, but also because the story takes no notice of Jacob's presents to Esau, of which the Elohist gives an elaborate account in xxxii. 14^b—22. Here and there the compiler has adopted a few words from the parallel narrative of the Elohist. In 18-20 the use of 'Elohim' again indicates the presence of the Elohist.

eyes, and saw the women and the children, and said, 'Who are these with thee?' And he said, '*The children with whom God has favoured thy slave.*' 6. Then the handmaids came near, they and their children, and bowed down. 7. And Leah also and her children came near, and bowed down; and afterwards Joseph and Rachel came near, and bowed down. 8. And he said, 'What meanest thou with all this company which I met?' And he said, 'To find favour in my lord's sight.' 9. And Esau said, 'I have enough: keep, my brother, what thou hast.' 10. And Jacob said, 'Not so, I pray, if now I have found favour in thy sight, then receive my present at my hand, for I have seen thy face as one might see the face of a god, and thou didst receive me graciously. 11. *Take now the gift which has been brought thee, for God has been gracious to me and I have plenty.*' And he urged him, and he took it. 12. And he said, 'Let us break up and go, and I will go before thee.' 13. And he said, 'My lord knows that the children are tender, and I must think of the sheep and cattle that give suck, and, if I overdrive¹ them one day, all the flocks will die. 14. Pray, let my lord pass on before his slave, and I will go easily, according to the pace of the cattle that is before me and according to the pace of the children, until I come to my lord at Seir.' 15. And Esau said, 'Let me at least leave with thee some of the people² who are with me.' And he said, 'What need of this? Let me find grace in the eyes of my lord.' 16. So Esau returned that day on his way to Seir. 17. And Jacob moved on to Succoth, and built him an house, and made booths for his cattle: therefore the name of the place was called Succoth. 18^b. *And he encamped before the city.*³

¹ 'If I overdrive.' So LXX., Sam., Syr. The Hebrew has, 'If they overdrive.'

² 'Leave with thee some of the people:' i.e. for protection.

³ 'And he encamped before the city.' What city? Probably Shechem. But the name has been given in the words of the 'Priestly Writer.' For 'altar' we should read, with Wellhausen, 'pillar;' the Hebrew verb translated 'set up' requires the latter word.

19. *And he bought the portion of ground where he had pitched his tent from the sons of Hamor for a hundred kesilas.* 20. *And he set up an altar there, and called it El the God of Israel.*

XXXIV. . . . 3. And his soul⁴ [Shechem's] clave to Dinah the daughter of Jacob, and he loved the damsel, and spoke kindly to the damsel, 2. and humbled her. 7. . . . He had wrought folly in Israel in lying with Jacob's daughter, which thing ought not to be done. 11. And Shechem said to her father and her brothers, 'Let me find grace in your eyes, and what ye shall say to me I will give. 12. Impose upon me ever so great a price [for the bride], and ever so great gifts, and I will give them as ye shall bid me: but give me the damsel to wife.'

¹ 'And his soul,' etc., ch. xxxiv. It is often hard to distinguish the Jahvist and Elohist elements in the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' but this is one of the few cases in which there is considerable difficulty in parting off the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' as a whole, from later documents. Still the thread of the early narrative may be seen clearly enough, though it is broken here and there, and sometimes entangled with a later version of the story. (1.) In the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' Shechem seduces Dinah, and wishes to marry her. The sons of Jacob consent on certain conditions. What these conditions were, we cannot say. But they had nothing to do with circumcision. So far from making the patriarchs feel any horror of marriage with the uncircumcised, our author represents Moses as leaving his son uncircumcised (Ex. iv. 24-26), and implies that the Israelites became acquainted with this rite in Egypt (Josh. v. 2, 3, 8, 9). Simeon and Levi avenge their sister's honour by assassinating Shechem. With this the rest of the family have nothing to do, and Jacob strongly condemns the act of violence. (2.) This account belongs to the Jahvist. The Elohist (in xxxvii. 12-14) represents Jacob's sons as peacefully feeding their flocks close to the scene of the outrage. He seems, from Josh. xxiv. 32, to have had quite a different view of Jacob's relations to Shechem. The Jahvist, on the other hand, is in harmony with the old poem, xlix. 5, 6. In the arrangement of the text, I have mostly followed Wellhausen and Kuenen, which last has published an admirable treatise on the subject in the *Theol. Tijdschr.* xiv. p. 257-281. Dillmann assigns to the Jahvist 2b, 3, 5, 7, 11-13, some words in 14, 25 (in part), 26, 30, 31. Kittel and (less closely) Delitzsch agree with him on the whole. Thus the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' as reconstructed by them, makes circumcision the condition of intermarriage. The objections to this view have been given already. Add, that it makes our narrator use twice at least the word 'timme,' 'defile,' which, according to Delitzsch himself, is only found in Ezekiel and the 'Priestly Writer.'

19. And the young man deferred not to do the thing, because he had delight in Jacob's daughter; and he was honoured above all the house of his father. 25. And two of [Jacob's sons], Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brothers, took each man his sword; 26. and slew Shechem with the edge of the sword, and took Dinah from Shechem's house, and went forth. 30. And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, 'You have troubled me to make me stink among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and the Perizzites; and, I being few in number, they will gather themselves together against me and smite me: and I shall be destroyed, I and my house.' 31. And they said, 'Should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?'

XXXV. 1. *And God said to Jacob, 'Arise, go up to Bethel, and dwell there; and make there an altar to the God who appeared to thee, when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother.'* 2. *And Jacob said to his household, and to all that were with him, 'Put away the foreign gods that are with you, and purify yourselves, and change your garments:'*¹ 3. *and let us arise and go up to Bethel, that I may make there an altar to the God who answered me in the day of my distress, and was with me on the way which I went.'* 4. *And they gave Jacob all the foreign gods which were in their hands, and the rings which were in their ears, and Jacob buried them under the terebinth which is by Shechem.* 6. *And Jacob came to Luz,*² *which is in the land of Canaan, the same is Bethel, he and all the people that were with him.* 7. *And he built an altar there, and called the place the God of Bethel, because God had revealed himself to him there, when he fled from his brother's face.* 8. *And Deborah Rebekah's foster-mother died, and*

¹ 'Change your garments.' Common garments were changed lest they should carry impurity into the sanctuary, priestly vestments being the natural development of this usage, when a special priesthood was instituted. The 'rings' mentioned in ver. 4 were amulets. The Aramaic word for ear-ring is 'kedāshā,' i.e. 'a holy thing,' and this is the word actually used here in the Syriac version, and in the Targum of Onkelos.

² 'And Jacob came to Luz.' This verse is generally regarded as a gloss. Probably the Elohist simply wrote, 'And Jacob came to Bethel.'

was buried below Bethel underneath the oak; and its name was called 'the oak of weeping.' 16. And they moved on¹ from Bethel, and, when there was still some way to come to Ephratah, Rachel was in labour, and her labour was hard. 17. And it came to pass that as she was in hard labour the midwife said to her, 'Fear not, for now thou shalt have another son.' 18. And it came to pass, as her soul was departing, for she died, that she called his name Benoni; but his father called him Benjamin. 19. And Rachel died, and was buried on the way to Ephrath: the same is Bethlehem.² 20. And Jacob set up a pillar on her grave: the same is the pillar of Rachel's grave to this day. 21. And Israel moved on, and pitched his tent beyond Migdal-eder. 22. And it came to pass, while Israel dwelt in that land, that Reuben went and lay³ with Bilhah his father's concubine: and Israel heard . . .

XXXVII. 2. [Joseph] *was tending the flock*⁴ with his brothers,

¹ 'And they moved on.' The § 16-22 must belong to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' for, according to the 'Priestly Writer' (xxxv. 24, 26), Benjamin was born in Mesopotamia. Verses 16-20 may be from the Elohist. In 21, 22 the name 'Israel' and the Hebrew word for 'concubine' remind one of the Jahvist.

² 'The same is Bethlehem': probably an erroneous gloss. The place known as Rachel's grave was much further north (1 Sam. x. 2, Jer. xxxi. 15), and it is most unlikely that any early tradition should have placed the tomb of Rachel, the mythical ancestress of the great northern tribes, in the territory of Judah.

³ Reuben went and lay.' In its original form the legend would regard Reuben's marriage with his father's concubine as quite in order. Among Semitic nations the eldest son naturally succeeded to his father's property, including his concubine (see R. Smith's *Marriage and Kinship in Early Arabia*), and the same idea prevailed in Israel (2 Sam. iii. 7, xvi. 22; 1 Kings ii. 22; cf. 15, 16). These unions, however, were disapproved by the stricter morality of the prophetic religion, as by the Koran iv. 26, though it adds that 'what is past may be allowed.'

⁴ 'Joseph was tending the flock.' The chapters which give the history of Joseph are, from a critical point of view, singularly interesting and satisfactory. They are interesting because they furnish us with long sections from those Jahvist and Elohist documents which compose our 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' The comparison shows (1.) that these documents are independent in style, substance, and authorship; (2.) that in style and substance they closely resemble each other; (3.) that they have been welded together by an editor who made free use of these documents, but added little

while yet a lad (with the sons of Bilhah, and with the sons of Zilpah, his father's wives), *and Joseph brought evil report about them to their father.* 3. Now Israel loved Joseph more than all

of his own or from other sources. The consideration of these chapters is satisfactory because the severance of the documents is exceedingly easy on the whole, and there is a general agreement among critics. Indeed, the main points of divergence in the composite narrative were clearly stated by Ilgen in 1795, and the legitimate inference with respect to the nature of the documents was well put by Hupfeld in 1853. If we confine ourselves here to chapters xxxviii., xxxix., xl., *i.e.* to Joseph's history previous to his elevation as Pharaoh's chief minister, we may compare the two narratives thus:—

ELOHIST.

1. Joseph's brothers hate him because he tells tales and has dreams which predict his superiority over them and his parents.

2. Joseph goes to visit his brethren, who are with their flocks. They resolve to kill him and then fling him into a cistern. *Reuben* persuades them not to kill, but merely to throw him into an empty cistern. He means to take him out secretly, and give him safe back to his father. Meanwhile Joseph is *stolen* by *Midianites*, and when Reuben returns, he finds to his despair that Joseph is gone.

3. The *Midianites* sell Joseph to *Potiphar*, one of Pharaoh's eunuchs, who as 'chief of the executioners' was in command of the prison. There Joseph is not a prisoner, but a slave of the governor of the prison, and, as such, is appointed to wait on two distinguished prisoners. He interprets their *dreams*, and begs one of them (the chief butler) to remember him before Pharaoh on attaining freedom and favour. He tells this chief butler that he has been '*stolen*' from the land of the Hebrews.

JAHVIST.

1. Joseph's brothers hate him because he is his father's favourite. His father made him a long-sleeved robe, such as princes wore (cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 18).

2. Joseph goes to visit his brothers, who are with their flocks. They resolve to kill him. But *Judah* persuades them to *sell* him to a caravan of *Ishmaelites* for twenty pieces of silver.

3. The *Ishmaelites* sell Joseph to a *private person* in Egypt, whose name is not given, and who was *married*. Yahweh is with Joseph, and blesses the house of the Egyptian for his sake. Joseph is traduced by the Egyptian's wife, and cast into prison. But there also Yahweh is with him, and makes him a favourite with the governor of the prison.

Here then we have two stories, each consistent with itself and inconsistent with the other. Nor is there any difficulty in determining the authorship of

his other sons, because he was the son of his old age; and he made him a long garment with sleeves. 4. And his brothers saw that their father loved him more than all his brothers, and they hated him, and could not speak peaceably to him. 5. *And Joseph dreamt a dream, and told it to his brothers,* (and they hated him yet more). 6. *And he said to them, 'Hear now this dream which I have dreamt: 7. for, behold, we were binding sheaves in the field, and, behold, my sheaf arose, and also stood upright; and, behold, your sheaves came round about, and bowed down to my sheaf.'* 8. *And his brothers said to him, 'Shalt thou indeed reign over us, or have dominion over us?'* (And they hated him yet more, because of his dreams and because of his words.) 9. *And he dreamt yet another dream, and told it to his brothers, and said, 'Behold, I have dreamt another dream, and, behold, the sun and the moon and eleven stars bowed down to me.'* 10. (And he told his father and his brothers.) *And his father rebuked him, and said to him, 'What is this dream that thou hast dreamt? Shall I, and thy brothers, and thy mother indeed come to bow down to the earth before thee?'* 11. *And his brothers envied him; but his father kept the matter in mind.*

12. And his brothers went to feed their father's flock in Shechem. 13. And Israel said to Joseph, 'Are not thy brothers feeding the flock in Shechem? Come, and I will send thee to

each narrative. The author of the story in the right-hand column uses the name Yahweh wherever he has occasion to speak of the supreme being (the name occurs seven times in ch. xxxix.). The only exception is that he makes Joseph use the word 'Elohim' in talking to a heathen, here following his general rule in such cases. He calls Jacob 'Israel,' a name which he has previously accounted for (xxxii. 29): he gives special prominence to Judah (as in ch. xxxviii.). On the other hand, the Elohist here, as elsewhere, lays great stress on dreams (as in xx., xxi. 12, xxviii. 12, xxxi. 11, 24); he makes Reuben, not Judah, the leader, which is in accordance with his general habit of only mentioning places in or connected with northern Israel. Each narrator has a vocabulary, and even grammatical peculiarities of his own. The two narratives have been united, and in some instances harmonised. In the division of documents throughout the history of Joseph, I have followed the arrangement of Kautzsch and Socin. Critics differ only on matters of detail, some of which are uncertain.

them.' *And he said to him, 'Here am I.'*¹ 14. *And he said to him, 'Go now, see whether it be well with thy brothers, and well with the flock; and bring me word again.'* So he sent him from the vale of Hebron,² and he came to Shechem. 15. *And a certain man found him, as he was wandering in the field: and the man asked him, saying, 'What seekest thou?'* 16. *And he said, 'It is my brothers that I seek: tell me, pray, where they are feeding the flock.'* 17. *And the man said, 'They have moved on from this place, for I heard them say, "Let us go to Dothan:"'* so Joseph went after his brothers, and found them in Dothan. 18. *And they saw him afar off; and before he came near them they conspired against him to put him to death.* 19. *And they said one to another, 'Behold, this dreamer is come.* 20. *And now, come, let us slay him, and cast him into one of the cisterns, and we will say, "A wild beast has devoured him;" and we shall see what will become of his dreams.'* 21. And [Judah]³ heard it, and delivered him out of their hand, and said, 'Let us not take his life.' 22. *And Reuben said to them, 'Shed no blood: cast him into this cistern which is in the wilderness, but lay no hand upon him,' meaning to deliver him out of their hand, that he might restore him to his father.* 23. And it came to pass, when Joseph was come to his brothers, that *they stript Joseph of his garment,* (the long garment with sleeves that was on him,) 24. *and they took him and cast him into the cistern: now the cistern was empty, there was no water in it.* 25. And they sat down to eat bread, and they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a caravan of

¹ 'And he said to him, "Here am I."' These words do not suit the rest of the verse. No doubt, the full text of the Elohist ran, 'And Jacob said to Joseph, "My son," and he said "Here am I."' This is a characteristic turn in the Elohist narrative. Cf. xxii. 1, 7, 11, xxvii. 1, xxxi. 11.

² 'Hebron.' 'We do not,' says Kuenen (*Onderz.* i. p. § 13, 7), 'expect to find Jacob at Hebron either in the Jahvist or Elohist narrative.' Probably the name has been altered by a very late hand in favour of the 'Priestly Writer.'

³ 'And Judah.' The text has Reuben. But ver. 22 is obviously from the Elohist. Then ver. 21, a parallel to it, must be from the Jahvist, and necessitates the correction of 'Reuben' into Judah.

Ishmaelites was just come from Gilead, with their camels bearing tragacanth-gum and balsam and ladanum, going to carry it down to Egypt. 26. And Judah said to his brothers, 'What profit is it, if we slay our brother and conceal his blood?' 27. Come, and let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him, for he is our brother, our own flesh.' And his brothers listened to him. 28. *And there passed by Midianite traders who drew* [Joseph out of the cistern]. And they [*i.e.* his brothers] lifted up Joseph out of the cistern, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver, and brought Joseph to Egypt. 29. *And Reuben returned to the cistern, and, behold, Joseph was not in the cistern, and Reuben rent his clothes.* 30. *And he returned to his brothers, and said to them, 'The boy is gone: and I, whither shall I go?'* 31. And they took Joseph's garment, and killed a he-goat, and dipped the garment in the blood. 32. *And they sent* the long garment with sleeves and brought it to their father, and said, 'This have we found: know, now, whether it be thy son's garment or not.' 33. And he knew it, and said, 'It is my son's garment: a wild beast has devoured him: Joseph is without doubt torn in pieces.' 34. *And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth on his loins, and mourned for his son many days.* 35. And all his sons and all his daughters rose to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted, and said, 'Mourning will I go down to my son in Sheol:' and his father wept for him. 36. And the Midianites sold him into Egypt to Potiphar, one of Pharaoh's eunuchs, the chief of the executioners.¹

XXXVIII. 1. And it came to pass at that time² that Judah

¹ 'Chief of the executioners.' Potiphar (=pe-et-e-ph-ra, 'he who is of Ra,' *i.e.* he who belongs to Ra, the sun-god) was captain of the royal body-guard, and, as such, chief executioner and governor of the prison. See xl. 3.

² 'And it came to pass at that time.' Judah and Tamar, ch. xxxviii. This chapter (clearly by the Jahvist) enforces the obligation of taking the widow of a brother who had died childless, and raising up children to bear his name. Onan sinned by selfish greed, not by lust. Under a legendary form, the story gives genuine historical recollections. Judah, which is not mentioned in Deborah's song (Judges v.), and was not united with the northern tribes till

went down from his brothers, and turned in to a certain Adullamite, whose name was Hirah. 2. And Judah saw there the daughter of a certain Canaanite, whose name was Shuah; and he took her, and went in to her. 3. And she conceived, and bore a son, and she called¹ his name Er. 4. And she conceived again, and bore a son, and called his name Onan. 5. And she bore another son, and called his name Shelah: and he [Judah] was at Chezib when she bore him. 6. And Judah took a wife for Er his first-born, and her name was Tamar. 7. And Er, Judah's firstborn, was evil in the sight of Yahweh: so Yahweh killed him. 8. And Judah said to Onan, 'Go in to thy brother's wife, and do the duty of a husband's brother to her, and raise up seed to thy brother.' 9. And Onan knew that the seed should not be his, and it came to pass, when he went in to his brother's wife, that he spilt it on the ground, lest he should give seed to his brother. 10. But that which he did was evil in the sight of Yahweh: so he killed him also. 11. And Judah said to Tamar his daughter-in-law, 'Remain a widow in thy father's house till Shelah my son be grown up:' for he said, 'Lest he also die like his brothers.' So Tamar went and dwelt in her father's house.

12. Now, after a long time, Shuah's daughter, the wife of Judah died: and when Judah was comforted, he went up to his sheepshearers, he and Hirah the Adullamite his friend, to Timnah. 13. And it was told Tamar, saying, 'Behold, thy father-in-law is going up to Timnah to shear his flock.' 14. And she put off from her the garments of her widowhood, and covered herself

David's time, contained a large admixture of Canaanite blood. From this mixture five clans arose. Of these Er and Onan dwindled away (cf. 1 Chron. iv. 21, where Er appears as a sub-division of Shelah, and 1 Chron. ii. 26, where Onan is a subordinate to Ram), of the other three Shelah, Perez, and Zerah, Perez was at first superior and then inferior in strength to Zerah. See Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, i. p. 158.

¹ The common Hebrew text has 'he called.' The better reading 'she' is supported by four Hebrew MSS. (see De Rossi *ad loc.*), by Sam., Arab., and Targ. Jon. A similar correction of the text has been made in 29 and 30.

with a veil, and muffled herself up, and sat at the entrance to Enaim which is on the road to Timnah ; for she saw that Shelah was grown up, and she was not given to him as a wife. 15. When Judah saw her, he thought her to be an harlot, for she had covered her face. 16. And he turned aside to her by the road, and said, 'Come, now, let me go in to thee : ' for he did not know that she was his daughter-in-law. And she said, 'What wilt thou give me that thou mayest come in to me ? ' 17. And he said, 'I will send a kid of the goats from the flock : ' and she said, 'If thou wilt give a pledge until thou send it.' 18. And he said, 'What is the pledge which I shall give thee ? ' And she said, 'Thy signet-ring and cord, and the staff that is in thine hand.' And he gave them to her, and came in to her, and she conceived by him. 19. And she arose, and went away, and put off her veil from her, and put on the garments of her widowhood. 20. And Judah sent the kid of the goats by the hand of his friend the Adullamite, that he might get the pledge from the woman's hand ; but he did not find her. 21. And he asked the men of her place, saying, 'Where is the consecrated woman¹ that was at Enaim, by the road-side ? ' And they said, 'There has been no consecrated woman here.' 22. And he returned to Judah, and said, 'I have not found her, and also the men of the place, said, "There has been no consecrated woman here." ' 23. And Judah said, 'Let her keep it [the pledge] lest we be put to shame :² behold, I sent this kid, and thou hast not found her.' 24. And it came to pass after about three months, that it was

¹ 'Consecrated woman' : *i.e.* consecrated to Astarte, the Semitic Venus, her prostitution being a religious act. According to Movers (*Phönizier*, i. 680), quoted by Delitzsch, the kid was the offering usually made to one of these votaries of Astarte. Note also that the sheepshearing was an occasion of feasting (1 Sam. xxv., 2 Sam. xiii. 23 *seq.*), and that such a feast, like that of the first sheaf, harvest, vintage, etc., must have had a religious character in the nature-worship of Canaan. Astarte was primarily the goddess of flocks and herds (see R. Smith, *Semitic Religion*, p. 292), so that the presence of 'consecrated women' at the sheepshearing would be quite in order.

² 'Put to shame,' *i.e.* for not paying the woman her hire.

told Judah, saying, 'Tamar thy daughter-in-law has played the harlot, and moreover, behold, she is with child by whoredom.' And Judah said, 'Bring her forth that she may be burnt.' 25. She was being brought forth when she sent to her father-in-law, saying, 'By the man to whom these things belong am I with child:' and she said, 'Discern, I pray thee, whose are these, the signet-ring and cords and the staff.' 26. And Judah acknowledged them, and said, 'She is more righteous than I, forasmuch as I did not give her to Shelah my son.' But he did not cohabit with her any more. 27. And it came to pass at the time of her delivery, that, behold, there were twins in her womb. 28. And it came to pass in her delivery, that, behold, one put forth a hand, and the midwife took and bound upon his hand a scarlet thread saying, 'This one came out first.' 29. And it came to pass as he drew back his hand, that, behold, his brother came out, and she said, 'Why hast thou made a rent for thyself?' and she called his name Perez. 30. And afterward came out his brother who had the scarlet thread on his hand, and she called his name Zerah.

XXXIX. 1. And Joseph was brought down to Egypt and (Potiphar, Pharaoh's eunuch, chief of the executioners) an Egyptian bought him from the hand of the Ishmaelites, who had brought him down thither. 2. And Yahweh was with Joseph, *so that he became a prosperous man*, and he was in the house of his master, the Egyptian. 3. And his master saw that Yahweh was with him, and that Yahweh made all that he did prosper in his hand. 4. And Joseph found favour in his sight, *and he ministered to him*, and he made him overseer over his house, and all that he had he put into his hand. 5. And it came to pass, from the time that he made him overseer in his house and over all that he had, that Yahweh blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake, and the blessing of Yahweh was on all that he had in house and field. 6. *And he left all that he had in Joseph's hand, and he took no thought of anything that was with him, save of the bread that he ate.*

Now Joseph was of comely figure and comely face. 7. And it came to pass after these things that his master's wife cast her eyes on Joseph, and said, 'Lie with me.' 8. But he refused, and said to his master's wife, 'Behold, my master takes no thought of anything that is in the house with me, and he has put all that he has into my hand. 9. He is not greater in this house than I; neither has he kept back anything from me except thee, because thou art his wife: how then can I do this great evil and sin against God?' 10. And it came to pass as she spoke to Joseph day by day that he did not listen to her, to lie with her (to be with her). 11. And it came to pass about this time that he went into the house to do his work; and there was none of the men of the house there within. 12. And she caught him by his garment, saying, 'Lie with me: ' and he left his garment in her hand, and fled and went out. 13. And it came to pass, when she saw that he had left his garment in her hand, and had fled forth, 14. that she called to the people of her house, and spoke to them, saying, 'See, he has brought us in a Hebrew to have his sport on us: he came in to me to lie with me, and I cried with a loud voice. 15. And it came to pass that when he heard me raise my voice and cry, he left his garment with me, and fled and went out.' 16. And she laid his garment by her, till his master came home. 17. And she spoke to him according to these words, saying, 'The Hebrew slave whom thou hast brought us, came in to me to have his sport on me. 18. And it came to pass when I raised my voice and cried, that he left his garment with me, and fled out.' 19. And it came to pass when his master heard his wife's words which she spoke to him, saying, 'After this manner did thy slave to me,' that his wrath was kindled. 20. And Joseph's master took him, and put him into the prison (the place where the king's prisoners were bound), and he was there in the prison. 21. But Yahweh was with Joseph, and brought him into favour, and gave him favour in the sight of the governor of the prison. 22. And the governor of the prison committed to Joseph's hand all the prisoners that were

in the prison : and whatsoever they did there, he was the doer of it. 23. The governor of the prison looked not to anything that was under his hand, because Yahweh was with him : and that which he did, Yahweh prospered.

XL. 1. *And it came to pass after these things, that the butler of the king of Egypt and his baker offended their lord the king of Egypt.* 2. *And Pharaoh was angry with his two eunuchs, with the chief of the butlers and the chief of the bakers.* 3. *And he put them in ward in the house of the chief of the executioners, into the prison, the place where Joseph was bound.* 4. *And the chief of the executioners¹ appointed Joseph to be with them, and he waited on them, and they were in ward for a time.* 5. *And they dreamt a dream both of them, each man his dream, in one night, each man having a dream with a special meaning—the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt who were bound in the prison.* 6. *And Joseph came to them in the morning, and saw them, and, behold, they were sad.* 7. *And Joseph asked Pharaoh's eunuchs that were with him in ward in his master's house, saying, 'Why do you look so troubled to-day?'* 8. *And they said to him, 'We have dreamt a dream, and there is none to interpret it.' And Joseph said to them, 'Do not interpretations belong to God? Pray, tell it me.'* 9. *And the chief of the butlers told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, 'In my dream, behold, a vine was before me. 10. And in the vine were three branches, and it was as though it budded, and its blossoms shot forth, and its clusters brought forth ripe grapes. 11. And Pharaoh's cup was in my hand, and I took the grapes and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand.'* 12. *And Joseph said to him, 'This is the interpretation of it : the three branches are three days : 13. within three days more shall Pharaoh lift up thy head, and restore thee to thy place ; and thou shalt give Pharaoh's cup into his hand after the former*

¹ 'Chief of the executioners.' Joseph, according to the Elohist, is with the same master to whom he was sold (xxxvii. 36) at first. The difference between this and the Jahvist story has been pointed out above.

manner when thou wert his butler. 14. But have me in thy remembrance when it shall be well with thee, and, pray, show kindness to me, and make mention of me to Pharaoh, and bring me out of this house : 15. for indeed I was stolen away from the land of the Hebrews, and here have I done nothing that they should have put me in the dungeon.' 16. And when the chief of the bakers saw that he had given a cheering interpretation, he said to Joseph, 'I also was in my dream, and, behold, three baskets of white bread were on my head. 17. And in the uppermost basket there was all manner of meats for Pharaoh, such as the baker makes ; but the birds ate them from the basket on my head.' 18. And Joseph answered and said, 'This is the interpretation of it : the three baskets are three days ; 19. within three days more shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee, and hang thee [i.e. thy corpse] on a pole, and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee.' 20. And it came to pass on the third day, which was Pharaoh's birthday, that he made a feast for all his servants, and he lifted up the head of the chief of the butlers and of the chief of the bakers in the midst of his servants. 21. And he restored the chief of the butlers to his butlership, so that he gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand. 22. But he hung [the corpse of] the chief of the bakers, as Joseph had interpreted to them. 23. Yet the chief of the butlers did not remember Joseph, but forgot him.

XLI. 1. And it came to pass¹ at the end of two full years that Pharaoh dreamt, and, behold, he stood by the Nile. 2. And, behold, there came up from the Nile seven cows, well-favoured and fat-fleshed ; and they fed in the reed-grass. 3. And, behold, seven

¹ 'And it came to pass,' etc. Ch. xli. is almost wholly from the Elohist. We find 'Elohim' in 51 *seq.*, where the use of this word instead of 'Yahweh' cannot be explained as in 16, 25, 32, 38 *seq.*, from the fact that Joseph is speaking to heathen, and in this chapter Joseph is not, as in the Jahvist's account, a prisoner, but a slave to the governor of the prison (so ver. 12). Here and there the compiler seems to have made insertions from the parallel account in the Jahvist. Thus ver. 41 simply repeats what has been said already ; in 49 the words 'as the sand of the sea' are used by the Jahvist, xxxii. 13.

other cows that came up after them, ill-favoured and lean-fleshed, and stood by the other cows on the bank of the Nile. 4. And the ill-favoured and lean-fleshed cows ate up the well-favoured and fat-fleshed. So Pharaoh awoke. 5. And he slept, and dreamt a second time; and, behold, seven ears of corn came up on one stalk, ears fat and good. 6. And, behold, seven ears, thin and blasted with the east wind, sprung up after them. 7. And the thin ears swallowed up the seven fat and full ears. And Pharaoh awoke, and, behold, it was a dream. 8. And it came to pass in the morning that his spirit was troubled, and he sent and called all the scribes of Egypt and all its wise men: and Pharaoh told them his dreams;¹ but there was none that could interpret them to Pharaoh. 9. Then the chief of the butlers spoke to Pharaoh, saying, 'I must make mention of my faults this day: 10. Pharaoh was wroth with his servants, and put me in ward in the house of the chief executioner, me and the chief of the bakers. 11. And we dreamt a dream in one night, I and he, each a dream with a special meaning. 12. And there was with us there a Hebrew youth, slave to the chief of the executioners, and we told him, and he interpreted to us our dreams: to each man according to his dream did he interpret. 13. And it came to pass, as he interpreted to us, so it was: me they restored to my place, and him they hanged.' 14. And Pharaoh sent and called Joseph, and they brought him quickly out of the dungeon; and he shaved himself, and changed his raiment and came to Pharaoh. 15. And Pharaoh said, 'I have dreamt a dream, and there is none who can interpret it: and I have heard say of thee, that when thou hearest a dream thou canst interpret it.' 16. And Joseph answered Pharaoh, saying, 'It is not in me: God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace.' 17. And Pharaoh related to Joseph: 'In my dream, behold, I stood on the bank of the Nile: 18. And, behold, there came up from the Nile seven cows, fat-fleshed and of goodly form, and they fed in the reed-grass. 19. And, behold, seven other cows came up after them, poor, and

¹ 'His dreams.' So Sam. : the Hebrew has 'his dream.'

of very ugly form and lean-fleshed, such as I never saw in all the land of Egypt for badness: 20. and the lean and ugly cows ate up the first seven fat cows: 21. and when they had eaten them up, it could not be known that they had eaten them up, and they were still ill-favoured, as at the beginning. So I awoke. 22. And I saw in my dream, and, behold, seven ears came up on one stalk, full and good: 23. and, behold, seven ears withered, thin and blasted with the east wind, sprung up after them: 24. and the thin ears swallowed up the seven good ears: and I told it to the scribes, and there was none that could declare it to me.' 25. And Joseph said to Pharaoh, 'The dream of Pharaoh is one: what God is about to do, he has declared to Pharaoh. 26. The seven good cows are seven years, and the seven good ears are seven years: the dream is one. 27. And the seven lean and ugly cows that came up after them are seven years; and the seven empty ears blasted with the east wind shall be seven years of famine. 28. That is the thing which I spoke to Pharaoh; [viz., that] what God is about to do, he has shown to Pharaoh. 29. Behold, there come seven years of great plenty through all the land of Egypt: 30. and there shall arise after them seven years of famine, and all the plenty shall be forgotten in the land of Egypt, and the famine shall consume the land: 31. and the plenty shall not be known in the land, because of that famine which follows, for it shall be very grievous. 32. And as to the dream being doubled to Pharaoh and coming twice, it is because the matter is settled with God, and God makes haste to do it. 33. Now, therefore, let Pharaoh look out a man discreet and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt. 34. Let Pharaoh take measures to set overseers over the land that he may exact a fifth of the produce of the land of Egypt in the years of plenty. 35. And let them gather all the fruit of these good years that come, and lay up corn under the control of Pharaoh, for food in the cities, and let them keep it. 36. And the food shall be a store to the land against the seven years of famine which shall be in the land of Egypt, that the land perish not of famine.' 37. And the thing was good in the eyes of Pharaoh and in the eyes of all

his servants. 38. And Pharaoh said to his servants, 'Can we find such an one as this, a man in whom the spirit of God is?' 39. And Pharaoh said to Joseph, 'Now that God has revealed all this to thee, there is none so discreet and wise as thou: 40. thou shalt be over my house, and according to thy word shall all my people dispose themselves: only in respect of the throne will I be greater than thou.' 41. And Pharaoh said to Joseph, 'See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt.' 42. And Pharaoh took off his signet ring from his hand, and put it on Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in garments of fine white cotton, and put the golden collar on his neck: 43. and he made him ride in the second chariot which he had, and they cried before him *Abrek*.¹ So they set him over all the land of Egypt. 44. And Pharaoh said to Joseph, 'I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt.' 45. And Pharaoh named Joseph *Zaphenath-paneah*,² and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of *Poti-phares* priest of On. 47. And in the seven plentiful years the land brought forth by handfuls. 48. And he gathered all the produce of the seven years which were in the land of Egypt, and laid up food in the cities: he laid up within each city the produce of the land round about it. 49. And Joseph laid up corn as the sand of the sea, in great quantity, till he left numbering, for it was past number. 50. And to Joseph were born two sons before the year of famine came, which Asenath³ the

¹ 'Abrek.' Various explanations of this word have been given by Egyptologists. The word to a Hebrew would mean 'bow the knee' (infin. absol. hiph., as 'ashkem,' Jer. xxv. 3), and probably the Elohist had heard some Egyptian word of similar sound, and explained it from his own language. The Coptic 'abork,' 'cast thyself down,' offers the most plausible suggestion. The attempt of Fr. Delitzsch to connect the word with the title of the chief minister of state in Assyria (*abarrakkatu*) has found little favour, and seems to have been abandoned by himself.

² 'Zaphenath-paneah.' Perhaps 'sustainer of life'; but here again there is no agreement among Egyptologists.

³ 'Which Asenath,' etc. Kautzsch and Socin regard the latter half of this verse beginning from these words as an interpolation. There seems to be no reason why the Elohist should not have written them. On the other hand, I have omitted the last words in the Hebrew of ver. 45. They are absent in the LXX. and are probably corrupt.

daughter of Poti-phaera the priest of On bore to him. 51. And Joseph called the name of the firstborn Manasseh, 'for,' [said he] 'God has made me forget all my toil and all my father's house.' 52. And the name of the second he called Ephraim, 'for,' [said he] 'God has made me fruitful in the land of my affliction.' 53. And the seven years of plenty that was in the land of Egypt came to an end. 54. And the seven years of famine began to come, as Joseph had said; and there was famine in all lands, but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. 55. And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread, and Pharaoh said to all the Egyptians, 'Go to Joseph: what he says to you, do.' 56. And the famine¹ was over all the face of the earth, and Joseph opened all the [storehouses] wherein was [grain], and sold to the Egyptians: and the famine was sore in the land of Egypt. 57. And all the world came to Joseph to buy corn, because the famine was sore in all the earth.

XLII. 1. Now Jacob² saw that there was corn in Egypt, and Jacob said to his sons, 'Why do you keep looking at each other?'

¹ 'And the famine,' etc. The Hebrew text of this verse is hopelessly corrupt.

² 'Now Jacob saw,' etc., chapters xlii.-xliv. The two parallel narratives still continue. Their differences are exhibited in the following table:—

THE ELOHIST.

The sons of Jacob go down to Egypt. Joseph remembers his dreams (xlii. 9); he treats his brothers harshly and charges them with being spies. They of their own accord mention that they have a brother at home. After imprisoning them all for three days, he lets them go, but retains Simeon as a pledge that they will return with Benjamin, and so prove their story true. Reuben reminds his brothers how he pleaded with them in vain for Joseph, and tells them that now the divine vengeance has overtaken them. Joseph puts the money they have paid for the corn back, and

THE JAHVIST.

Joseph directly, and of his own accord, asks the sons of Israel whether their father is alive, and whether they have another brother. They mention Benjamin, and Joseph tells them they shall have no more corn unless they bring Benjamin with them (xliii. 1-7).

2. And he said, 'Behold, I have heard that there is corn in Egypt : *get you down thither, and buy for us from thence, that we may live and not die.*' 3. *And Joseph's ten brothers went down to buy corn from Egypt.* 4. *But Benjamin, Joseph's brother, Jacob did not send with his brothers,* for he said, 'Lest, perhaps, mischief befall him.' 5. Then among the rest came the sons of Israel to buy corn, for there was famine in the land of Canaan. 6. And Joseph was governor of the land ; he it was who sold to all the people of the world : and Joseph's brothers came and bowed down to him with their faces to the earth. 7. And, when Joseph saw his brothers, he knew them ; but he made himself strange to them, and he said to them, 'Whence come you?' And they said, 'From the land of Canaan, to buy grain.' 8. *And Joseph recognised his brothers, but they did not recognise him.* 9. *And Joseph remembered the dreams which he dreamt con-*

furnishes them with provision, so that they do not need to open their sacks on the way. *At home* they tell their story to Jacob. *They are horrified to find their money in their sacks.* Jacob at first refuses to let Benjamin go. *Reuben* tries to persuade him.

They find their money, which Joseph has put in their bags, *at the first station on the way back* (xliii. 21).

It is *hunger* (not, as in the Elohist, the detention of Simeon) which impels them to go to Egypt again, taking Benjamin with them (xliii. 1, 2). *Judah* takes the lead in the matter, and persuades *Israel* to let Benjamin go.

The rest of the Jahvist's story follows with scarcely any interpolation in the rest of ch. xliii., pure and unmixed in ch. xliv.

Here and there the editor has mutilated one account or inserted a statement from the other, in order to soften the most palpable of the contradictions. Thus he allows the Jahvist (xlii. 27) to tell us how one of the brothers found his money on the way back, but cuts the story short before we learn that all do so. Yet he leaves xliii. 21 unaltered, so that we have no difficulty in seeing that this was the way the Jahvist told his story. Again in the middle of the Jahvist story as told in ch. xliii. he interpolates a statement in ver. 23 that Joseph brought Simeon out to his brothers on their second visit to Egypt. But the interpolation is easily recognised, for the rest of the Jahvist story proceeds without reference to Simeon's imprisonment when such reference would have been inevitable had it formed any part of the story. These conclusions, certain of themselves, are confirmed by differences of style, e.g. the Elohist says 'Jacob,' the Jahvist 'Israel'; the Elohist speaks of 'the sack' (Heb. 'saq'), the Jahvist of 'the bag' (Heb. 'amtachath'), etc.

cerning them, and he (spoke harshly with them and)¹ said to them, 'You are spies; to find out the weak place in the land are ye come.' 10. And they said to him, 'Nay, my lord, but to buy grain are thy slaves come. 11. We are all the sons of one man: we are true men, thy slaves are no spies.' 12. And he said to them, 'Nay, but to see the weak place in the land you are come.' 13. And they said, 'We thy slaves are twelve brothers, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold, the youngest is this day with our father, and one is gone.' 14. And Joseph said to them, 'It is just as I told you, saying, "You are spies." 15. Hereby shall you be proved: by the life of Pharaoh, you shall not go out hence except your youngest brother come hither. 16. Send one of you, and let him fetch your brother, and you shall be bound, that your words may be proved, whether there be truth in you: or else by the life of Pharaoh, verily you are spies.' 17. And he put them together into ward three days. 18. And Joseph said to them the third day, 'This must you do, to live; for I am a God-fearing man: 19. if you are true men, let one of your brothers remain bound in your prison-house: but go, take home corn for the hunger of your houses: 20. and bring your youngest brother to me; so shall your words be verified, and you shall not die': (and they did so.)² 21. And they said one to another, 'We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the distress of his soul, when he besought us, and did not listen: therefore is this distress come upon us.' 22. And Reuben answered them, saying, 'Did not I speak to you, saying, "Do not sin against the child," and you would not listen: therefore also, you see, reckoning is made for his blood.' 23. And they did not know that Joseph understood them, for there was an interpreter between them. 24. And he turned away from them and wept: and he returned to them, and took Simeon from among them, and bound him before their eyes. 25. Then Joseph commanded that their baggage should be filled with corn, and that each man's money should

¹ The words in brackets have been transferred from ver. 7.

² 'And they did so.' The words will not bear Dillmann's interpretation, 'they agreed to this.' Taken in their natural meaning they disturb the sense.

be restored to his sack, and that provision should be given them for the journey: and thus was it done to them. 26. *And they loaded their asses with their corn, and departed thence.* 27. *And as one of them opened his sack to give his ass provender in the lodging-place, he beheld his money, and, behold, it was in the mouth of his bag.* 28. *And he said¹ to his brothers, 'My money is restored, and behold, too, it is in my sack:' and their heart failed them, and they turned trembling one to another, saying, 'What is this that God has done to us?'* 29. *And they came to Jacob their father in the land of Canaan, and told him all that had happened to them, saying,* 30. *'The man, the lord of the land, spoke with us harshly, and took us for spies of the land.* 31. *But we said to him, "We are true men; we are no spies.* 32. *We are twelve brothers the sons of our father: one is gone, and the youngest is this day with our father in the land of Canaan."* 33. *And the man, the lord of the land, said to us, "Hereby shall I know that you are true men: leave one of your brothers with me, and take corn for the famine of your houses, and go.* 34. *But bring your youngest brother to me: then shall I know that you are no spies, but that you are true men: so will I deliver you your brother, and you can traffic in the land."* 35. *And it came to pass, as they emptied their sacks, that, behold, every man's bundle of money was in his sack: and when they and their father saw their bundles of money, they were afraid.* 36. *And Jacob their father said to them, 'Me have you bereaved of my children: Joseph is gone, and Simeon is gone, and you would take Benjamin away: all this is come upon me.'* 37. *And Reuben spoke to his father, saying, 'My two sons mayest thou kill if I do not bring him back to thee: commit him to my hand, and I will bring him back to thee again.'* 38. *And he said, 'My son shall not go down with you, for his brother is*

¹ 'And he said,' etc. Verse 28 belongs as a whole to the Jahvist, and it is probably by an oversight that Kautzsch and Socin have assigned it to the Elohist. The last words, 'What is this that God has done to us?' are of course from the Elohist, and may have stood originally at the end of ver. 35.

dead, and he only is left: if mischief befall him by the way you go, then shall you bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to Sheol.'

XLIII. 1. And the famine was sore in the land. 2. And it came to pass when they had eaten up the corn which they had brought out of Egypt, that their father said to them, 'Go again, buy us a little food.' 3. And Judah spoke to him, saying, 'The man did solemnly protest to us, saying, "You shall not see my face, except your brother be with you." 4. If thou wilt send our brother with us, we will go down and buy thee food; 5. but if thou wilt not send him, we will not go down: for the man said to us, "Ye shall not see my face, unless your brother be with you."' 6. And Israel said, 'Why have you brought sorrow upon me by telling the man whether you had another brother?' 7. And they said, 'The man asked closely concerning ourselves and concerning our kindred, saying, "Is your father yet alive? Have you another brother?" And we informed him according to the tenor of these questions. Could we in any wise know that he would say, "Bring your brother down"?' 8. And Judah said to Israel his father, 'Send the lad with me, and we will arise and go, that we may live and not die, both we and thou, and also our little ones. 9. I will be surety for him; from my hand shalt thou require him: if I bring him not to thee and set him before thee, let me bear the blame for ever: 10. for unless we had lingered, surely now we might have [gone and] returned twice over.' 11. And Israel their father said to them, 'If it must be so, do this: take of the fruits of the land in your baggage, and carry down the man a present, a little balm and a little grape-syrup, gum-tragacanth and ladanum, pistacia nuts and almonds: 12. And take double money in your hand, and the money that was returned in the mouth of your bags carry again in your hand; perhaps it was an oversight: 13. and take your brother, and arise, go again to the man. 14. *And [God] give you mercy before the man, that he may let your other brother go with you, and also Benjamin: and as for me, if I am to be bereaved,*

*I am to be bereaved.*¹ 15. And the men took that present, and they took double money in their hand, and Benjamin; and they rose up, and went down to Egypt, and stood before Joseph. 16. And when Joseph saw Benjamin with them, he said to the steward of his house, 'Bring the men into the house, and slay and make ready, for the men shall eat with me at noon.' 17. And the man did as Joseph bade, and the man brought the men into Joseph's house. 18. And the men were afraid, because they were brought into Joseph's house; and they said, 'Because of the money that was returned in our sacks at the first time, are we brought in, that he may cast himself upon us, and fall upon us and take us for slaves, and seize our asses.' 19. And they drew near to the steward of Joseph's house, and spoke to him at the door of the house, 20. and said, 'O my lord, we came indeed down at the first to buy food: 21. and it came to pass, when we came to the lodging place, that we opened our bags, and, behold, every man's money was in the mouth of his bag, our money in full weight: and we have brought it again in our hand. 22. And other money have we brought down in our hand to buy food: we know not who put our money in our bags.' 23. And he said, 'Peace be to you, fear not: your God and the God of your father has given you treasure in your bags: I had your money.' *And he brought out Simeon to them.* 24. And the man brought the men into Joseph's house; and he gave them water, and they washed their feet, and he gave their asses fodder. 25. And they made ready the present for the time that Joseph would come at noon, for they heard that they should eat bread there. 26. And when Joseph came home, they brought him the present which was in their hand into the house, and bowed themselves down before him to the earth. 27. And he asked them of their welfare, and said, 'Is your father well, the old man of whom you

¹ 'And [God] . . . bereaved.' This verse is in substance from the Elohist, as appears from the sudden allusion to Simeon, 'the other brother.' But 'El Shaddai' at the beginning of the verse has been interpolated by a late hand. It is only the 'Priestly Writer' who uses this name of God in ordinary prose.

spoke? Is he yet alive?' 28. And they said, 'Thy servant our father is well, he is yet alive.' And they bowed the head, and made obeisance. 29. And he lifted up his eyes and saw Benjamin, his brother, his mother's son, and said, 'Is this your youngest brother of whom you spoke to me?' And he said, 'God be gracious to thee, my son.' 30. And Joseph made haste, for his heart burned for his brother, and he sought where to weep; and he entered into his chamber, and wept there. 31. And he washed his face and came out; and he restrained himself and said, 'Set on bread.' 32. And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians who ate with him by themselves; because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination to the Egyptians. 33. And they sat before him, the firstborn according to his birthright, and the youngest according to his youth; and the men looked in wonder at each other. 34. And messes were brought from his place to them, but Benjamin's mess was five times as much as any of theirs. And they drank, and were merry with him.

XLIV. 1. And he commanded the steward of his house, saying, 'Fill the men's bags with food, as much as they can carry, and put every man's money in his bag's mouth. 2. And put my cup, the silver cup, in the bag's mouth of the youngest, and his corn money.' And he did according to the word that Joseph had spoken. 3. As soon as the morning was light, the men were sent away, they and their asses. 4. And when they were gone out of the city, and were not yet far off, Joseph said to his steward, 'Up, follow after the men, and when thou dost overtake them, say to them, "Why have you returned evil for good?"¹ 5. Is not this that in which my lord drinks, and whereby he indeed divines? Ye have done evil in so doing.'" 6. And he

¹ 'Why have you returned evil for good?' The LXX. add, 'Why have you stolen from me the silver cup?' The Syr. (as printed in the London Polyglott) has, in ver. 5, 'And you have stolen this cup in which my lord drinks,' etc.; and the Latin Vulgate, 'The cup which you have stolen is the same in which,' etc.

overtook them, and spoke to them these words. 7. And they said to him, 'Why does my lord speak such words as these? Far be it from thy slaves to do such a thing. 8. Behold, the money¹ which we found in our sacks' mouths we brought again to thee out of the land of Canaan: how then should we steal out of thy lord's house, silver or gold? 9. With whomsoever of thy slaves it be found let him die, and we also will be my lord's bondsmen.' 10. And he said, 'Now also let it be according to your words: he with whom it is found shall be my bondsman; but you shall be clear.' 11. Then they hastened, and took down every man his sack to the ground, and opened every man his sack. 12. And he searched: he began at the eldest, and left off at the youngest: and the cup was found in Benjamin's bag. 13. And they rent their garments, and loaded every man his ass, and returned to the city. 14. And Judah and his brothers came to Joseph's house: now he was still there; and they fell before him to the ground. 15. And Joseph said to them, 'What is this that you have done? Do you not know that such a man as I can indeed divine?' 16. And Judah said, 'What shall we say to my lord? What shall we speak? And how shall we justify ourselves? God has found out the iniquity of thy slaves: behold, we are my lord's bondsmen, both we and he also in whose hand the cup has been found.' 17. And he said, 'Far be it from me to do such a thing: the man in whose hand the cup has been found, he shall be my bondsman: but as for you, you may go up in peace to your father.' 18. Then Judah came near to him, and said, 'O, my lord, let thy slave, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ears, and be not angry with thy slave; for thou art even as Pharaoh. 19. My lord asked his slaves, saying, "Have you a father or a brother?" 20. And we said to my lord, "We have a father, an old man, and a child of his old age, a little one, and his [full] brother is dead, and he alone is left of his mother, and his father loves him. 21. And thou saidst to thy servants, "Bring him down to me, that I may

¹ 'The money.' So Sam. : the article is wanting in the Masoretic text.

set my eyes upon him." 22. And we said to my lord, "He cannot leave his father, for, if he should leave his father, his father would die." 23. And thou saidst to thy slaves, "Except your youngest brother come down with you, you shall see my face no more." 24. And it came to pass, when we went up to thy slave my father, that we told him my lord's words. 25. And our father said, "Go again, buy us a little food." 26. And we said, "We cannot go down: if our youngest brother be with us, then we will go down: for we may not see the man's face, except our youngest brother be with us." 27. And thy slave my father said to us, "You know that my wife bore me two sons. 28. And the one went out from me, and I said, 'Surely he is torn in pieces,' and I have not seen him since: 29. and if you take this one also from me, and mischief befall him, you shall bring down my grey hairs in sorrow to Sheol." 30. Now, therefore, when I come to thy slave my father, and the lad be not with us; seeing that his life is bound up in the lad's life; 31. it shall come to pass, when he sees that the lad is not with us, that he will die, and thy slaves will bring down the grey hair of thy slave our father with sorrow to Sheol. 32. For thy slave became surety for the lad to my father, saying, "If I bring him not to thee, then shall I bear the blame to my father for ever. 33. Now, therefore, let thy slave, I pray thee, remain instead of the lad a bondsman to my lord; and let the lad go up with his brothers. 34. For how shall I go up to my father, and the lad be not with me? O that I may not see the evil that shall come on my father!"

XLV. 1. And Joseph could not¹ restrain himself [as it was

¹ 'And Joseph could not,' etc., ch. xlv. This chapter in the main is from the Elohist. (So Wellhausen, Dillmann, Kittell, Kautzsch and Socin, against Delitzsch.) This appears from the language, *e.g.* 'Elohim' in 5, 7, 8, 9, 'Jacob' (not 'Israel') in 25, and in a number of Hebrew words and phrases which the Elohist has used before, *e.g.* 'provision for the journey' in 21, as before in xlii. 25; 'bar' for 'corn' in xlv. 23, a word constantly used by the Elohist, xli. 35, 49, xlii. 3, 25, and never by the Jahvist (who uses 'shever' and 'okel'); 'ta'an' for 'load' in ver. 17, for which the Jahvist in xlv. 13 has 'amas'al'; a peculiar phrase in ver. 5 meaning 'to be angry,' and used before by the Elohist in xxxi. 35. Further we shall see that this chapter forms one con-

necessary to do] with regard to all those that stood by him : and he cried, 'Cause every man to go out from me.' *And there stood no man with him, while Joseph made himself known to his brothers.* 2. And he wept aloud, *and the Egyptians heard, and Pharaoh's household heard.*¹ 3. *And Joseph said to his brothers, 'I am Joseph: is my father still living?'* *And his brothers could not answer, for they were terrified at the sight of him.* 4. *And Joseph said to his brothers, 'Come near me, I pray you.'* *And they came near. And he said, 'I am Joseph your brother, whom you sold into Egypt.* 5. *And now, be not grieved, and be not angry with yourselves that you sold me hither: for God sent me before you to preserve life.* 6. *For these two years has the famine been in the land, and there are still to be five years in which there shall be neither ploughing nor harvest.* 7. *And God sent me before you to preserve your race upon the earth, and to save you alive till you that have escaped grow to a great company.* 8. *So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God: and he has made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his house, and ruler over all the land of Egypt.* 9. *Make haste, and go up to my father, and say to him, "Thus says thy son Joseph, 'God has made me lord of all Egypt: come down to me, do not tarry: 10. and thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen² and thou shalt be near me, thou and thy sons and sons' sons, and thy flocks and thy herds, and all that thou hast: 11. and there will I nourish thee; for there are yet five years of famine; lest thou come to poverty, thou and thy household, and all*

tinuous whole with a sequel in xlvi. and xlvii., where the language is also that of the Elohist. On the other hand, this chapter admittedly contains an admixture from the Jahvist. For (1.) we find the same thing said twice over (compare 13, 14 with 9). (2.) We have the statement in 4^b, 5^a, that Joseph was 'sold,' which agrees with the Jahvist but not with the Elohist story. (3.) Here, as always, divergence of language accompanies divergence in fact, e.g. 'Israel' for 'Jacob' in 28. Of course it is impossible to be sure of every detail, but there is a general and very close agreement as to the severance of the documents.

¹ 'Pharaoh's household heard.' According to the Elohist in ver. 16 this happened later.

² 'Land of Goshen.' This district is repeatedly mentioned by the Jahvist: whether the Elohist spoke of it is uncertain.

that thou hast." 12. *And, behold, your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that it is my mouth that speaks to you.* 13. *And you shall tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and all that you have seen; and you shall make haste to bring my father down hither.'* 14. *And he fell on his brother Benjamin's neck, and wept, and Benjamin wept upon his neck.* 15. *And he kissed all his brothers, and wept upon them; and after that his brothers talked with him.* 16. *And the report was heard in Pharaoh's household, saying, 'Joseph's brothers are come': and it pleased Pharaoh well and his servants.* 17. *And Pharaoh said to Joseph, 'Say to thy brothers, "Do this: load your beasts, and go, get you to the land of Canaan: 18. and take your father and your households, and come to me, and I will give you the best that the land of Egypt has, and you shall eat the fat of the land. (19. And do thou bid them,¹ [saying,] 'Do this: take wagons out of the land of Egypt for your little ones and your wives, and bring your father, and come. 20. Also do not grudge to leave your furniture, for the best that all the land of Egypt has is yours.'* 21. *And the sons of Israel did so; and Joseph gave them wagons, according to Pharaoh's commandment, and gave them provision for the way.)* 22. *To every one of them he gave costly robes, but to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver, and five costly robes.* 23. *And to his father likewise he sent ten asses laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she-asses laden with corn and bread and victual for his father by the way.* 24. *So he sent his brothers away, and they departed, and he said to them, 'See that you fall not out by the way.'* 25. *And they went up from Egypt, and came to the land of Canaan to Jacob their father.* 26. *And they told him, saying, 'Joseph is yet alive, and he*

¹ 'And do thou bid them.' So the LXX. The Hebrew text has 'And thou art bidden,' which is scarcely intelligible and probably corrupt. Dillmann rightly regards 19-21 as an interpolation. The words 'and they did so' are out of place, anticipating 23 *seq.*; the Elohist does not speak of 'sons of Israel,' as here, ver. 21, and the expression 'do not grudge to leave,' literally 'let not your eye spare,' is not used in the Pentateuch except by the Deuteronomist. The verses are only given here because they contain words and thoughts of the Elohist and Jahvist.

is ruler over all the land of Egypt.' And his heart grew cold, for he did not believe them. 27. And they told him all Joseph's words which he had said to them: but when he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father revived. 28. And Israel said, 'Enough. My son Joseph is yet alive: I will go and see him before I die.'

XLVI. 1. And Israel moved¹ with all that he had (and came to Beersheba), and offered sacrifices to the God of his father Isaac. 2. And God spoke to Israel in the visions of the night, and said to him, 'Jacob, Jacob.' And he said, 'Here am I.' 3. And he said, 'I am God, the God of thy father: fear not to go down to Egypt, for (I will there make of thee a great nation). 4. I will go down with thee to Egypt, and I will also surely bring thee up again, and Joseph shall close thine eyes. 5. And Jacob rose up from Beersheba, (and the sons of Israel carried Jacob their father, and their little ones, and their wives, in the wagons which Pharaoh sent to carry them.)

28. And he sent Judah² before him to Joseph, that he [Joseph] might come to meet him [?] ³ at Goshen. And they came to the land of Goshen. 29. And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father at Goshen. And he presented

¹ 'And Israel moved,' etc., xlv. 1-5. This § belongs to the Elohist, of whom both the name 'Elohim' (repeated three times, besides 'El' once) and 'the visions of the night' are characteristic. But it is hard to see why Jacob should have to move to Beersheba instead of waiting for Pharaoh's wagons in his home. Dillmann suggests that the Elohist may have made Jacob (like Abraham and Isaac) live at Beersheba, and therefore took that to be his starting-place for Egypt; that the Jahvist made him live at (xxxvii. 14) and therefore start from Hebron; and that the account here of his moving from Hebron to Beersheba is due to the compiler, who thus harmonises the Elohist with the Jahvist. The use of the name 'Israel,' while the Elohist says 'Jacob,' indicates admixture of documents. In ver. 5 'Israel' occurs again, and the language closely resembles that of xlv. 19-21. See the note there.

² 'And he sent Judah.' What follows, down to xlvii. 6b, bears clear marks of the Jahvist; e.g. Judah is prominent, Jacob is called 'Israel,' etc. Further, whereas the Elohist in xlv. 18 represents Pharaoh as offering of his own accord land in Egypt for Joseph's family, the Jahvist gives no hint of any such offer, but writes as if all such arrangements had still to be made.

³ 'To meet him.' This translation follows the reading of Sam., LXX., Syr.; but it is doubtful if any sense can be made of the text.

himself to him, and fell on his neck and wept on his neck, a long time. 30. And Israel said to Joseph, 'Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, that thou art yet alive.' 31. And Joseph said to his brothers and to his father's household, 'I will go up and tell Pharaoh, and will say to him, "My brothers and my father's household, who were in the land of Canaan, have come to me ; 32. and the men are shepherds (for they are keepers of cattle), and they have brought their flocks and their herds and all that they have." 33. And it shall come to pass, when Pharaoh shall call you, and shall say, "What is your occupation?" 34. that you shall say, "Thy slaves have been keepers of cattle from our youth till now, both we and our fathers : " that you may dwell in the land of Goshen, since every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians.' XLVII. 1. And Joseph went and told Pharaoh, and said, 'My father and my brothers, and their flocks and herds, and all that they have, are come from the land of Canaan, and, behold, they are in the land of Goshen.' 2. And from among his brothers he took five men, and presented them to Pharaoh. 3. And Pharaoh said to his brothers, 'What is your occupation?' And they said to Pharaoh, 'Thy slaves are shepherds, both we and our fathers.' 4. And they said to Pharaoh, 'To sojourn in the land are we come, for there is no pasture for the flocks which belong to thy slaves, for the famine is grievous in the land of Canaan ; now, therefore, we pray thee, let thy slaves dwell in the land of Goshen.' 5. And Pharaoh spoke to Joseph, saying, 6^b. 'Let them dwell in the land of Goshen, and if thou knowest any able men among them, make them chief-shepherds over my cattle.' 12. *And Joseph¹ nourished his father and his brothers, and all his father's household, with bread, according to the number of their little ones.*

¹ 'And Joseph,' etc. Verse 12 is connected in thought and language (the uncommon word translated here 'nourished' being common to both) with xlv. 11. It comes, therefore, from the Elohist. As for the rest of the chapter, the use of the name Israel and a series of other linguistic marks vindicates 27-31 for the Jahvist. In 13-26 the language, as Dillmann shows, points to the Jahvist on the whole. But there are signs of admixture and interpolation.

13. And there was no bread in all the land, for the famine was very grievous, so that the land of Egypt and the land of Canaan fainted by reason of the famine. 14. And Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the corn which they bought, and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house. 15. And when the money was all spent in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan, all the Egyptians came to Joseph and said, 'Give us bread : for why should we die in thy presence? For the money is at an end.' 16. And Joseph said, 'Give your cattle and I will give you bread¹ for your cattle, if money is at an end.' 17. And they brought their cattle to Joseph, and Joseph gave them bread in exchange for the horses and for the flocks and for the herds and for the asses, and he provided them with bread in exchange for all their cattle during that year. 18. And when that year was over, they came to him the second year and said to him, 'We will not conceal from my lord, that if our money is spent and the herds of cattle are my lord's, there is nothing left for my lord except our bodies and our lands. 19. Why should we die before thine eyes, both we and our land? Buy us and our land for bread and we with our land will go into Pharaoh's service : and give us seed, that we may live and not die and the land may not be desolate.' 20. And Joseph bought the whole land of Egypt for Pharaoh ; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, for the famine was strong upon them ; and the land became Pharaoh's. 21. And as for the people, he made them serfs² from one end of the border of Egypt to the other. 22. Only he did not buy the land of the priests, for the priests had a portion from Pharaoh, and ate their portion which Pharaoh gave them : therefore they did not sell their land. 23. And Joseph said to the people, 'Behold, I have bought you this day and your land for

¹ 'Bread.' This word, wanting in the present Hebrew, is retained by Sam., LXX., Vulgate.

² 'Made them serfs.' Sam., LXX., Vulgate.

Pharaoh : here is seed for you that you may sow the land. 24. And it shall come to pass at the ingatherings that you shall give a fifth part to Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food and for those of your households (and for the food of your little ones).¹ 25. And they said, 'Thou hast saved our lives : let us find favour in the sight of my lord and we will be Pharaoh's serfs.' 26. And Joseph made it a statute concerning the land of Egypt to this day that Pharaoh should have the fifth part, except that the land of the priests alone did not fall to Pharaoh. 27. And Israel dwelt in the land of Goshen.

29. And the time drew near that Israel should die, and he called his son Joseph and said to him, 'If now I have found favour in thine eyes, put now thy hand beneath my thigh and deal kindly and truly with me : bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt. 30. But I would sleep with my fathers, and thou shalt carry me from Egypt, and thou shalt bury me in their grave.' And he said, 'I will do as thou hast said.' 31. And he said, 'Swear to me,' and he swore to him. And Israel bowed down on the bed's head.

XLVIII. 1. *And it came to pass² after these things, that one said to Joseph, 'Behold, thy father is sick :'* and he took with him his two sons Manasseh and Ephraim. 2. *And one told Jacob, and said, 'Behold, thy son Joseph is come to thee.'* And Israel collected

¹ 'For your little ones' : wanting in LXX., and probably interpolated. Their natural place would be before the words, 'for those of your households.'

² 'And it came to pass,' etc. The verses of ch. xlviii. which follow have been assigned to the Elohist by critics generally from Hupfeld to Wellhausen. The reason for this is obvious. Not only does the style of the Elohist run through the chapter ('Elohim' 9, 11, 15, 20, 21 *seq.*), but also the narrative makes a fresh start unconnected with the Jahvist verses at the end of xlvii. There the Jahvist makes Joseph leave his father bedridden and at the point of death ; here the Elohist makes Joseph hear, evidently for the first time, that his father is sick. But the whole of xlviii. 8-22 cannot have come from the Elohist or from any one author. Joseph brings Manasseh and Ephraim twice over (9 and 13) to Jacob for his blessing. Kuenen (*Onderz.* i. § 8, 5)

his strength and sat on the bed. 8. But Israel beheld the sons of Joseph, *and he said, 'Who are these?'* 9. *And Joseph said to his father, 'They are my sons whom God has given me here.'* And he said, 'Bring them, I pray, to me and I will bless them.' 10. Now the eyes of Israel were dim with age so that he could not see. *And he brought them near to him and he kissed them and embraced them.* 11. *And Israel said to Joseph, 'I had not thought to see thy face, and, lo, God has let me see thy seed also.'* 12. *And Joseph brought them out from between his knees and Joseph bowed himself with his face to the earth.* 13. And Joseph took both of them, Ephraim in his right hand towards Israel's left hand, and Manasseh in his left hand towards Israel's right hand, and he brought them near to him. 14. And Israel stretched out his right hand and laid it upon Ephraim's head, although he was the younger, and his left hand on Manasseh's head, crossing his hands; for Manasseh was the first-born. 15. *And he blessed Joseph and said, 'The God before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac walked, who fed me all my life long to this day, 16. the angel who has redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads, and let my name be continued in them and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac, and let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth.'* 17. And when Joseph saw that his father was placing his right hand on Ephraim's head, it displeased him and he held up his father's hand to remove it from Ephraim's head to Manasseh. 18. And Joseph said to his father, 'Not so, my father, for this

explained all this on the theory of interpolation in the Elohist narratives. Dillmann, however, has shown that we have the remains of two independent versions. According to the Elohist Jacob is delighted to know that Joseph's sons are present, he embraces them, blesses Joseph in them, and promises him the possession of Shechem. The central point in the Jahvist story is the exaltation of Ephraim over Manasseh, and it is not Joseph but his sons who receive the blessing. Dillmann's results have been accepted by Kittel, and (less closely) by Budde (*Z. A. T.* III. p. 56 *seq.*), and Delitzsch. They are given in the text, with slight modifications, chiefly from Kautzsch and Socin. Some of the details cannot be settled except by guess. The editor of the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' has inserted the name 'Israel' even in Elohist verses.

is the first-born : put thy hand on his head.' 19. But his father refused and said, 'I know, my son, I know : he also shall become a people and he also shall be great : nevertheless, his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his descendants shall be a very multitude of nations. 20. *And he blessed them that day, saying, 'Through thee shall Israel bless, saying, "God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh."*' And he set Ephraim before Manasseh. 21. *And Israel said to Joseph, 'Behold, I am dying, but God will be with you and will bring you back to the land of your fathers. 22. Moreover, I give thee one mountain-slope¹ above thy brothers, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow.'*

XLIX. 1^b. And [Israel] said,² 'Gather yourselves together that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the latter days.

¹ 'One mountain-slope,' Heb. 'Shekem,' in evident allusion to Shekem (Shechem), the famous city in Ephraim. But how did Jacob win it by his sword and bow? The Elohist says nothing of any such conquest by violence, and what he does say of Shechem (xxxiii. 19, Jos. xxiv. 32), points in quite another direction. The origin of the verse (generally assigned to the Elohist) cannot be determined.

² 'And Israel said,' etc. The so-called blessing of Jacob (xlix. 2-27) contains a description of the twelve tribes partly from a geographical, partly from an historical point of view. It takes the form of a prediction which is put into Jacob's mouth, and is a poem, which may have existed separately or as part of a poetical collection. Considering the depreciatory language used of Reuben, it cannot owe its place in our history to the Elohist. On the other hand, the use of the name 'Yahweh' and the connection between the curse pronounced on Simeon and Levi with the story told in xxxiv. make it likely that the Jahvist gave it a place in his history. As to its date the following points are to be noted :—(1.) It must have been written long before Levi was regarded as the one priestly tribe, *i.e.* in any case long before Josiah's reform in 621. See vv. 5-7. (2.) It must have been written after the time when the tribes, including Judah, were supposed to form a national unity. There is no trace of such a view before David's time. Deborah's Song does not mention Judah. (3.) It must have been written after the rise of the northern kingdom, founded by Jeroboam in 937, for in ver. 26 Joseph is said to be 'a prince among his brethren.' (4.) The hostility which is said to beset Joseph, and his success against it, probably refers to the long struggle between the kingdom of northern Israel and the Aramæans or Syrians of Damascus. There is no allusion to danger from the Assyrian Empire. Thus the poem might very well have arisen under Ahab, 878-857. This is the date suggested

2. Assemble yourselves and hear, ye sons of Jacob,
And hearken to Israel your father.
3. Reuben, thou art my first-born, my strength, and the first-
fruits of my vigour,
Excelling in dignity and excelling in might.
4. Boiling over like water, excel not thou ;
Because thou wentest up to thy father's bed :
Then didst thou defile it :—He went up to my couch !
5. Simeon and Levi are brothers,
Weapons of violence are their sabres [?] :
6. Let not my soul come into their council,
Let not my honour be united with their assembly ;
For in their rage they slew men,
And in their wantonness houghed oxen.
7. Cursed be their rage, for it was strong,
And their wrath, for it was cruel :
I will divide them in Jacob,
And scatter them in Israel.
8. Judah,—thee shall thy brethren praise ;
Thy hand is on the neck of thine enemies ;
Thy father's sons shall bow down to thee.
9. Judah is a lion's whelp,
From the prey, my son, thou art gone up ;
He stooped down, he crouched as a lion,

by Stade (*Gesch. Isr.* i. p. 150), while Wellhausen (*Gesch. Isr.* p. 373), and Kuenen (*Onders.* i. §§ 13, 16), come to a like conclusion. At the same time there are passages in the poem which favour a much earlier date. Certainly Dan is spoken of as an independent tribe, fighting in the common interests of Israel, but still separately and of his own free will. Again, if we may trust the old record contained in Judges xvii, xviii, Levites even in the time of the Judges had a preferential, though not an exclusive claim to the priesthood, and it is strange that the poet, if he lived so late as Ahab, should say nothing about the religious character of the Levites. We need not, however, with Ewald, Dillmann, and many others, place the poem in the time of the Judges, or with Reuss (*Gesch. heil. Schr.* § 171) in that of David. It is enough to admit with Renan, Land, and Kuenen, that poetic elements of various dates have been welded together.

And as a lioness ;—who shall rouse him up ?

10. The sceptre will not depart from Judah,
Nor the leader's staff from between his feet ;
Until he come to Shiloh,¹ [?]
And the peoples are subject to him.
11. He bindeth his foal to the vine,
And his ass's colt to the choice vine :
He hath washed his garments in wine,
And his vesture in the blood of grapes.
12. Dark flash his eyes with wine,
And white are his teeth with milk.
13. Zebulun shall dwell at the sea-beach,
And he himself shall be a haven for ships ;
And his flank shall lean on Sidon.
14. Issachar is an ass, strong of bone,
Crouching down between the sheep-folds.
15. And he found that rest was a good thing,
And that the land was pleasant,
And he bowed his shoulder to bear,
And was [brought down] to the task-work of a serf.
16. Dan shall secure the rights of his people,
As one of the tribes of Israel.
17. Dan shall be a serpent by the way,
An adder by the path,
That biteth the horse's heels,
So that his rider falleth backwards.
18. I have waited for thy salvation, O Yahweh.
19. Gad,—a troop shall press upon him,
But he shall press upon their heel.
20. Asher,²—his bread is fat,
And he shall yield royal dainties.

¹ 'Until he come to Shilo.' For the numerous variants and emendations of this clause, which is probably corrupt, see the commentaries.

² 'Their heel, Asher.' The translation involves a slight change in the division of the Hebrew words which is generally accepted.

21. Napthali¹ is a tall terebinth tree
Putting forth beauteous branches.
22. Joseph is a young fruit tree,
A young fruit tree by a fountain ;
His branches run over the wall.
23. The archers harassed him
And shot at him and lay in wait for him.
24. But his bow abode in strength
And nimbly moved the hands on his arms.
By the hands of the mighty one of Israel,
From thence is the shepherd of the stone of Israel,²
25. From the God of thy father, so may he aid thee !'
And from God³ the Almighty, so may he bless thee !
With blessings of heaven above,
Blessings of the deep that coucheth beneath,
Blessings of the breasts and the womb.
26. The blessings of thy father were stronger than the ancient
mountains⁴
Than the delights of the eternal hills.
Let them come on the head of Joseph,
On the crown of the prince among his brethren.
27. Benjamin is a ravening wolf ;
In the morning he devours the prey
In the evening he divides the spoil.
- 33 aβ. And he gathered up his feet into the bed.⁵ L. 1. And
Joseph fell on his father's face and wept upon him and kissed

¹ 'Napthali,' etc. The reading followed here is supported by the LXX.

² 'From thence is shepherd of the stone of Israel.' Compare xxviii. 18. A slight change has been made in the pointing, but even with this change the text really defies translation.

³ 'And from God.' So LXX., Sam., Syr., and some Hebrew mss.

⁴ 'Ancient mountains.' So LXX.

⁵ 'And he gathered up his feet into the bed.' With these words compare xlviii. 2, which is part of the Jahvist narrative. What follows, viz. l. 1-11 and 14, must be assigned to the Jahvist as a whole, not only because it contains strong marks of Jahvist style, but also because it is the indispensable

him. 2. And Joseph commanded the physicians who served him to embalm his father ; so the physicians embalmed Israel. 3. And forty days were fulfilled for him, for so are fulfilled the days of embalming : and the Egyptians wept for him seventy days.

4. And when the days of weeping for him were past, Joseph spoke to Pharaoh's household, saying, 'If now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the ears of Pharaoh, saying, 5. "My father made me swear, saying, Behold, I am dying : in my grave which I have dug for myself in the land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me." Now therefore let me go up, I pray thee, and bury my father and I will come again.' 6. And Pharaoh said, 'Go up and bury thy father, according to the oath he exacted from thee.' 7. And Joseph went up to bury his father, and with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his court and all the elders of the land of Egypt, 8. And all the household of Joseph, and his brothers and his father's household : only their little ones and their flocks and their herds, they left in the land of Egypt. 9. And there went up with him both chariots and horsemen, and it was a very great company. 10. And they came to the threshing floor of Atad, which is beyond Jordan, and there they lamented with a very great and sore lamentation, and he made a mourning for his father seven days. 11. And when the Canaanites the inhabitants of the land saw the mourning in the floor of Atad, they said, 'This is a

continuation of the Jahvist story in xlvii. 29-31. But the origin of verses 1-3 is obscure. It might very well come in substance from the Elohist, who always shows a strong interest in, and fairly accurate knowledge of, Egyptian usages. There cannot be the least doubt that 15-26 is from the Elohist. We have the frequent use of Elohim, the peculiar word for 'nourish' (as in xlv. 11, xlvii. 12) ; the question 'Am I in the place of God?' (as in xxx. 2) ; 'to be born on the knees' (as in xxx. 3). Verse 20 aptly sums up the Elohist view of Joseph's history, and the Elohist refers back to this chapter in Exod. xiii. 19, Josh. xxiv. 32. Some have doubted whether the statements about Joseph's age in vv. 22 and 26 belong to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' but see Dillmann.

grievous mourning to the Egyptians ;' wherefore the name of it was called Abel-Mizrain, which is beyond Jordan. 14. And Joseph returned to Egypt, he and his brothers and all that went up with him to bury his father.

15. *And when Joseph's brothers saw that their father was dead, they said, 'What if Joseph turn to be our enemy and fully requite us for all the evil which we did him.'* 16. *And they sent a message to Joseph, saying, 'Thy father did command before he died, saying,* 17. *"Thus shall you say to Joseph, Forgive, I pray thee, now the transgression of thy brothers and their sin, for that they did thee evil, and now, we pray thee, forgive the transgression of those who serve thy father's God."* *And Joseph wept when they spoke to him.* 18. *And his brothers also went and fell down before him and said, 'Behold, we are thy slaves.'* 19. *And Joseph said to them, 'Fear not ; for am I in the place of God ?* 20. *And as for you, you meant evil against me : God meant it for good that he might do, as you see done this day, that he might preserve a great multitude in life.* 21. *Now therefore fear not ; I will nourish you and your little ones.'* So he comforted and encouraged them.

22. *And Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he and his father's house, and Joseph lived one hundred and ten years.* 23. *And Joseph saw Ephraim's children of the third generation : the children also of Machir the son of Manasseh, were born on Joseph's knees.* 24. *And Joseph said to his brothers, 'I am dying, but God will surely visit you and bring you up out of this land to the land which he promised with an oath to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.'* 25. *And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, 'God will surely visit you and you shall bring up my bones hence.'* 26. *So Joseph died, being a hundred and ten years old, and they embalmed him and he was put in a coffin in Egypt.*

NOTE

From the beginning of Exodus to the end of Joshua ordinary type indicates simply that the words belong to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' In this case the question of Jahvist or Elohist authorship is left undetermined.

The text in heavy type belongs to the Jahvist, thus :—

Thou still exaltest thyself against my people, that thou wilt not let them go.

The text in italics belongs to the Elohist, thus :—

And Moses stretched forth his staff over the land of Egypt.

Round brackets thus () have been used occasionally to indicate harmonistic glosses by the editor who compiled the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' from the Jahvist and Elohist documents.

Exodus. I.¹ 6. And Joseph died and all his brothers and all that generation. 7. . . . and they multiplied and grew strong. 8. *And there arose a new king over Egypt who knew not Joseph.* 9. *And he said to his people, 'Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we ;* 10. *Come, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply and it come to pass that when war happens to us,² they also join themselves to our enemies and fight against us and get them up out of the land.'* 11. *So they set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens, and they built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamses.* 12. *But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and the more they spread abroad, and they were troubled about the children of Israel* 14. *[And they made them work] at mortar and bricks and all manner of labour in the field.* 15. *And the king of Egypt said to the Hebrew midwives, the name of the one being Shiprah and the other Puah :* 16. *and he said, 'When you do the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, look [while they are still] on the birth-stool: if it be a son, kill him, and if it be a daughter, let it live.'* 17. *But the midwives feared God and did not do as the king of Egypt commanded them but saved the male children alive.* 18. *And the king of Egypt called the midwives and said to them, 'Why have you done this thing, and have saved the male children alive ?'* 19. *And the midwives said to Pharaoh, 'Because the Hebrew are not like the Egyptian women, for they are lively and are delivered*

¹ Exodus, chapters i., ii. In chapter i. the § 15-21 must on account of the repeated use of Elohîm belong to the Elohist and with these verses the § 8-12 is connected in sense. In ver. 22 we probably have in the briefer words of the Jahvist the story already told by the Elohist. So far there is a pretty general agreement among critics. As to chapter ii. it is safest to say with Wellhausen and Kuenen that we have a mixed text without attempting to say how much comes from the Elohist, how much from the Jahvist. According to Dillmann, 1-14 is mostly from the Elohist, 15-23* mostly from the Jahvist. In ver. 18 the father-in-law of Moses is called Reuel. Now in xviii. 1 (the Elohist) the name is Jethro or Jether as in iii. 1, iv. 18. On the other hand in Num. x. 29, the name is Hobab son of Reuel, and in Judges iv. 11, Hobab. Probably here, in ii. 18, we should read Hobab, son of Reuel. This then is the name given by the Jahvist, Jethro that given by the Elohist.

² 'Happens to us.' So Sam., and all versions.

before the midwife comes to them.' 20. *And God dealt well with the midwives ;* and the people multiplied and grew very strong. 21. *And it came to pass, because the midwives feared God, that he built up families for them.* 22. And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, 'Every son that is born you shall cast into the Nile, and every daughter you shall save alive.'

II. 1. And there went a man of the house of Levi and took to wife¹ the daughter of Levi. 2. And the woman conceived and bore a son, and when she saw that he was a goodly child, she hid him three months. 3. And when she could no longer hide him, she took an ark of bulrushes and daubed it with bitumen and with pitch, and she put the boy therein and laid it in the flags by the bank of the Nile. 4. And his sister stood afar off to know what would be done to him. 5. And the daughter of Pharaoh went down to bathe by the river and her maidens walked along by the river-side ; and she saw the ark among the flags and sent her maidservant to fetch it. 6. And she opened it and saw the child, and, behold, the babe wept : and she had pity on him and said, 'This is one of the Hebrews' children.' 7. And his sister said to Pharaoh's daughter, 'Shall I go and call thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may give suck to the child for thee?' 8. And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, 'Go.' So the girl went and called the child's mother. 9. And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, 'Take this child away and give it suck for me and I will give thee thy wages.' And the woman took the child and suckled it. 10. And the child grew up and she brought him to Pharaoh's daughter and he became a son to her : and she called his name Moses, and said, 'Because I drew him out of the water.'

11. And it came to pass in these days that Moses grew up and went out to his brethren and looked on their burdens : and

¹ The name of the wife has been omitted, perhaps because the name given here was different from that mentioned by the 'Priestly Writer' in vi. 20. The Revised Version conceals the difficulty by translating 'a daughter of Seir. It is very doubtful if the grammatical construction will permit this rendering.

he saw an Egyptian smiting a Hebrew, one of his brethren. 12. And he looked this way and that, and when he saw that there was no man, he smote the Egyptian and hid him in the sand. 13. And he went out on the second day and, behold, two men of the Hebrews strove together and he said to him that did the wrong, 'Why smitest thou thy fellow?' 14. And he said, 'Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Thinkest thou to kill me, as thou didst kill the Egyptian?' And Moses was afraid and said, 'Verily, the thing is known.' 15. Now when Pharaoh heard this thing, he sought to slay Moses. But Moses fled from before Pharaoh and he dwelt in the land of Midian and he sat by the well. 16. Now the priest of Midian had seven daughters, and they came and drew water and filled the troughs to water their father's flock. 17. And the shepherds came and drove them away, but Moses stood up and helped them and watered their flock. 18. And when they came to Reuel their father, he said, 'How is it that you are come so soon to-day?' 19. And they said, 'An Egyptian delivered us from the hand of the shepherds, and moreover he drew water for us and watered the flock.' 20. And he said to his daughters, 'And where is he? Why is it that you have left the man? Call him, that he may eat bread.' 21. And Moses was content to dwell with the man, and he gave Moses Zipporah his daughter. 22. And she bore a son and he called his name Gershom, for he said, 'I have been a sojourner in a strange land.' 23^a. And it came to pass in the course of those many days, that the king of Egypt died.

III. 1¹ *Now Moses was keeping the flock of Jethro his father-*

¹ Exod. iii. 1-15 must, as a whole, belong to the Elohist, because it centres in the revelation of the name Yahweh, whereas that name has been known according to the Jahvist from the first, and was used publicly by Enosh (Gen. 4. 26). Notice also the names Jethro and Horeb, both unknown to the Jahvist, also the Elohist turn of expression, 'he said Moses, Moses, and he said, Here am I' (4^b=Gen. xxii. 11, xlv. 2). But a Jahvist narrative has been mixed by the compiler with that of the Elohist. We have the name Yahweh in 2, 4^a and 7, and hence we find that 9 merely repeats 7 and 8 in other words. Dillmann assigns the rest of the chapter to the Elohist in

*in-law, the priest of Midian, and he led the flock to the back of the wilderness to the mountain of God, to Horeb.*¹ 2. *And the angel of Yahweh appeared to him in a flame of fire from the midst of the thorn bush: and he looked and, behold, the thorn bush burned with fire, but the thorn bush was not consumed.* 3. *And Moses said, 'I will turn aside now and see this great sight, why the thorn bush is not burnt up.* 4. *And Yahweh saw that he turned aside to see, and God called to him from the midst of the thorn bush and said, 'Moses, Moses.' And he said, 'Here am I.'* 5. *And he said, 'Draw not nigh hither, put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.'* 6. *And he said, 'I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.'* *And Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look upon God.* 7. *And Yahweh said, 'I have surely seen the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and I have heard their cry because of their oppressors, since I know their sorrow.'*² 8. *And I am come down to deliver it from the hand of the Egyptians and to bring it up out of that land into a good and wide land, to a land flowing with milk and honey, to the place of the Canaanite and the Hittite, and the Amorite and the Perizzite, and the Hivite and the Jebusite.* 9. *And now, behold, the cry of the children of Israel is come to me, and moreover I have seen the oppression, wherewith the Egyptians oppress them.* 10. *And now go, I send thee to Pharaoh, and bring forth my people, the children of Israel, from Egypt.'* 11. *And Moses said to God, 'Who am I, that I should go to Pharaoh and that I should bring forth the*

the main, while Wellhausen's judgment is exactly opposite. Kittel on the whole follows Wellhausen, but the question cannot be settled in detail.

¹ 'Horeb' is the name which the Elohist (e.g. in xvii. 6, xxxiii. 6) always gives to the mountain which the Jahvist and the 'Priestly Writer' call Sinai. The Deuteronomist adopts the Elohist usage. Notice that Horeb is from the outset 'the mountain of God.' Therefore God appears and the legislation is given there, not *vice versa*. Because it is already 'the mountain of God,' the children of Israel go to serve him there. It has this sacred character in Deborah's Song, the most ancient fragment of Hebrew literature (Judges v. 4, 5, comp. 1 Kings xix. 8).

² 'Sorrow.' So LXX., Sam., Syr.; the Masoretic text has the plural.

children of Israel out of Egypt?' 12. *And he said, 'Certainly, I will be with thee, and this shall be the token to thee that I have sent thee: when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, you shall serve God on this mountain.'* 13. *And Moses said to God, 'Behold, when I come to the children of Israel, and shall say to them, "The God of your fathers has sent me to you," and they shall say to me, "What is his name?" what shall I say to them?'* 14. *And God said to Moses, 'I will be what I will be.'* *And he said, 'Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, "I will be has sent me to you."'* 15. *And God said further to Moses, 'Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, "Yahweh, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob has sent me to you:" this is my name for ever, and my memorial from generation to generation.'* 16. *Go and gather the elders of Israel together, and say to them, "Yahweh, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, has appeared to me saying, "I have surely looked to you and to that which is done to you in Egypt:"* 17. *and I said, "I will bring you up from the affliction of Egypt to the land of the Canaanite and the Hittite, and the Amorite and the Perizzite, and the Hivite and the Jebusite, to a land flowing with milk and honey."* 18. *And they shall hearken to thy voice, and thou shalt come, thou and the elders of Israel, to the king of Egypt, and thou shalt say¹ to him, "Yahweh the God of the Hebrews has met with us, and now let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to Yahweh our God."* 19. *And I know that the king of Egypt will not let you go, no, not by a mighty hand.²* 20. *And I will put forth my hand and smite Egypt with all my wonders which I will do in the midst of it, and*

¹ 'Thou shalt say.' So LXX., Vulgate, and some Hebrew mss.

² 'No, not by a mighty hand.' The LXX. has 'save by a mighty hand.' This suits the context, but it is a rendering which the Hebrew will not bear. It is true that for a time Pharaoh resisted even the mighty hand of Yahweh. Still, the same hand which wrote ver. 20 can hardly have written the clause here, and Dillmann may be right in regarding the words as a gloss by a late writer who was thinking of the first nine plagues.

after that he will send you forth. 21. And I will give this people favour in the eyes of the Egyptians; and it shall come to pass that when you go, you shall not go empty: 22. but every woman shall ask of her neighbour and of her that sojourneth in her house jewels of silver and jewels of gold, and raiment, and you shall put them on your sons and on your daughters: and you shall spoil the Egyptians.' IV. 1.¹ And Moses answered and said, 'But, behold, they will not believe me nor hearken to my voice, for they will say, "Yahweh has not appeared to thee."' 2. And Yahweh said to him, 'What is that in thine hand?' And he said, 'A staff.' 3. And he said, 'Cast it on the ground.' And he cast it on the ground and it became a serpent, and Moses fled from before it. 4. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Put forth thine hand and take it by the tail'—and he put forth his hand, and laid hold of it, and it became a staff in his hand—5. 'that they may believe that Yahweh the God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob has appeared to thee.' 6. And Yahweh said to him further, 'Put now thine hand into thy bosom.' And he put his hand into his bosom, and, when he took it out, his hand was [white] as snow with leprosy. 7. And he said, 'Put back thine hand into thy bosom'—and he put his hand back into his bosom, and when he took

¹ iv. 1. The § iii. 16—vi. 1 is admittedly composite. (i) In iv. 10, 12, when Moses complains that he is no orator, Yahweh answers by promising to confer the gift of speech upon him. This tallies very well with the subsequent account in vii. 8—xi., where Moses is the principal speaker, where Aaron only appears to disappear, and where his name is probably a mere interpolation. But it does not tally with iv. 14-16, where Yahweh says that Aaron is to speak for Moses. (2) In iii.-iv. 18 God appears to Moses, and gives him detailed instructions about his return to Egypt and his mission. Accordingly, Moses asks Jethro's leave to go, and gets it. Suddenly, as if nothing had been said of all this, we read in iv. 19, 'Yahweh said to Moses in Midian, go, return to Egypt, for all the men who sought thy life are dead.' (3.) In iv. 21-23, Moses is told to threaten Pharaoh at once with the death of his first-born. This disagrees with iii. 18-20, where he is told simply to ask leave of brief absence for the people, that they may sacrifice in the wilderness, the vengeance of Yahweh following the king's refusal, and with the subsequent story in vii. *seq.* While, however, the fact is certain that the

it out of his bosom, behold, it was turned again like [the rest of] his flesh.—8. 'And it shall come to pass if they will not believe thee, and will not hearken to the voice of the first sign, that they will believe the voice of the latter sign. 9. And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe even these two signs and will not hearken to thy voice, that thou shalt take of the water of the Nile and pour it on the dry land, and the water which thou takest out of the river shall become blood on the dry land. 10. And Moses said to Yahweh, 'O Lord, I am not eloquent, neither in former days nor since thou hast spoken to thy slave, for I am slow of speech and of a slow tongue.' 11. And Yahweh said to him, 'Who made man's mouth? Or who makes dumb, or deaf, or seeing, or blind? Is it not I, Yahweh? 12. Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth, and I shall teach thee, what thou shalt speak.' 13. And he said, 'I beseech thee, O Lord, send by means of any one [else] thou wilt.' 14. And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Moses and he said, 'Is there not Aaron thy brother the Levite? I know that he can speak. And, behold, he goes forth to meet thee and, when he sees thee, he shall rejoice in his heart. 15. And thou shalt speak to him and put words in his mouth: and I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and I will teach you what to do. 16. And he will speak for thee to the people: and it shall come to pass that he will be to thee for a mouth, and thou shalt be to him for a God. 17. *And thou shalt take in thy hand this staff with which thou shalt do the signs.*

compiler has used different documents, the attempts made by Dillmann, Jülicher, and Kittel to separate the original elements of the composite narrative cannot be considered successful. They differ considerably from each other, and perhaps no certain result can be attained. Henceforth the Elohist also is free to use the name Yahweh which has now been revealed to Moses. But besides, the method of the compiler seems to have changed. Hitherto he has pieced together fragments of the Jahvist and Elohist, as in a mosaic. Here he seems to have fused them into one. We find, however, in the staff of Moses, and in the signs which he works, a criterion which may be safely used to distinguish the Elohist from the Jahvist. This will be explained when we come to the plagues in ch. vii. *seq.*

18. And Moses went and returned to Jethro his father-in-law and said to him, 'Let me go, I pray thee, and return to my brethren who are in Egypt and see if they are still alive.' And Jethro said to Moses, 'Go in peace.' 19. And Yahweh said to Moses in Midian, 'Go, return to Egypt, for all the men are dead who sought thy life.' 20. **And Moses took his wife and his son¹ and made them ride on an ass, and he returned to the land of Egypt: and Moses took the staff of God in his hand.** 21. *And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Now that thou art going back to Egypt, see all the wonders which I have put in thine hand,—these shalt thou do before Pharaoh, and I will make his heart firm, so that he will not let the people go.* 22. *And thou shalt say to Pharaoh, "Thus says Yahweh, Israel is my first-born son:* 23. *And I have said to thee, Let my son go, that he may worship me, and thou hast refused to let him go: behold, I will slay thy first-born son."*'

24. **And it came to pass² on the way at the lodging place that Yahweh met him and sought to kill him.** 25. **Then Zipporah took a flint and cut off the foreskin of her son, and cast it at his feet, and she said, 'Surely a bridegroom of blood art thou to me.'** 26. **So he [Yahweh] let him alone. Then she said, 'A bridegroom of blood [art thou] because of the circumcision.'**

27. And Yahweh said to Aaron, 'Go to meet Moses in the wilderness;' and he went, and met him in the Mountain of God, and kissed him. 28. And Moses told Aaron all the words of

¹ 'His son.' So Dillmann and many others, for the plural 'sons' which stands in the Hebrew text. According to this narrator, Moses had, at this time, only one son, viz. Gershom. According to the Elohist, Moses had two sons. But he left them behind in Egypt. See xviii. 2.

² 'And it came to pass,' etc. Here we have one of the oldest §§ in the Hexateuch. Yahweh tries to kill Moses. The reason for this does not lie in the fact that Moses had neglected to circumcise his son. Circumcision has not even been mentioned hitherto, much less has a law of circumcision been imposed. The explanation seems to be that the Yahweh of the early Hebrews devours like the element of fire, not for moral reasons but by a necessity of nature. He is appeased by the blood of circumcision and

Yahweh wherewith he had sent him, and all the signs wherewith he had charged him. 29. And Moses and Aaron went and gathered all the elders of the Children of Israel; 30. and Aaron spoke all the words which Yahweh had spoken to Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people. 31. And the people believed: and they heard that Yahweh had visited the children of Israel and seen their affliction, and they bowed their heads and worshipped.

V. 1. And afterwards Moses (and Aaron) came and said to Pharaoh, 'Thus says Yahweh, the God of Israel, "Let my people go that they may keep a feast to me in the wilderness."' 2. And Pharaoh said, 'Who is Yahweh, that I should hearken to his voice? I have no knowledge of Yahweh, and, moreover, I will not let Israel go.' 3. And they said, 'The God of the Hebrews has met with us: let us go, pray, three days' journey in the wilderness, and sacrifice to Yahweh our God, lest he fall on us with pestilence or the sword.' 4. And the king of Egypt said to them, 'Why do you, Moses (and Aaron), loose the people from their works? Get you to your burdens.' 5. And Pharaoh said, 'Behold, the people of the land are now many, and will you stop them from their burdens?' 6. And the same day Pharaoh commanded the taskmasters of the people and their overseers, saying, 7. 'You shall give the people no more straw to make bricks, as heretofore: let them go and gather straw for themselves. 8. And the tale of the bricks, which they made hitherto,

Zipporah calls Moses 'a bridegroom of blood,' *i.e.* a husband whose life she has saved by sacrificing the blood of her son. Thus circumcision is regarded here as 'an offering of blood for the propitiation of Yahweh.' See Kuenen, *Godsd. v. Israel*, ch. iv., also Réville, *Relig. des Peuples Non-civilisés*, particularly vol. i. p. 177, with reference to the circumcision of the Caffres. Réville thinks circumcision was a sacrifice of the part, offered in lieu of the whole. This theory seems to be borne out by the passage before us, though circumcision may also have been in early times a mark of adoption into the clan which enabled the circumcised person to participate in its sacred rites (Stade, *Gesch. Israels*, i. p. 423), or again a qualification for marriage and the other prerogatives of perfect manhood (Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 310).

you shall lay upon them : you shall not diminish it, for they are lazy ; therefore they cry, saying, "Let us go and sacrifice to our God." 9. Let heavier labour be laid on the men, and let them work at it, and let them not regard lying words.' 10. And the taskmasters of the people and its overseers went forth and spoke to the people, saying, 'Thus saith Pharaoh, "I will not give you straw. 11. Go yourselves, get you straw where you can find it, for your labour shall not be diminished at all."', 12. So the people were scattered through all the land of Egypt to gather stubble for straw. 13. And the taskmasters were urgent, saying, 'Complete your works, the daily task on the day, as when there was straw.' 14. And the overseers of the children of Israel whom Pharaoh's officers had set over them, were beaten, while question was put, 'Why have you not completed your task both yesterday and to-day in making brick as heretofore?' 15. Then the overseers of the children of Israel went and cried to Pharaoh, saying, 'Why dealest thou thus with thy slaves? 16. No straw is given to thy slaves and they say to us, "Make bricks," and behold, thy slaves are beaten, and thou sinnest against thy people.'¹ 17. And he said, 'You are idle, you are idle, therefore you say, "Let us go and sacrifice to Yahweh." 18. Go, therefore, now, and work ; for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the tale of bricks.' 19. And the overseers of the children of Israel found themselves in evil case, since they had to say, 'You shall not make any diminution in your bricks, from the day's task on the day.' 20. And they came on Moses (and Aaron) standing to meet them as they came forth from Pharaoh. 21. And they said to them, 'Let Yahweh look upon you and judge, because you have made our odour to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh and in the eyes of his servants, so as to put a sword into their hand to slay us.' 22. And Moses returned to

¹ 'Thou sinnest against thy people.' The Hebrew text is neither grammatical nor intelligible. The true reading is retained in LXX. and Syr. See Dillmann and Gesenius by Kautzsch, § 74 1.

Yahweh and said, 'O lord, why hast thou done evil to this people? Why is it that thou hast sent me? 23. For since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he has done evil to this people and thou hast by no means delivered thy people.' VI. 1. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Now shalt thou see what I will do to Pharaoh, for [compelled] by a strong hand he will let them go, and [compelled] by a strong hand shall he drive them out of his land.'

. . . . VII. 14.¹ And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Pharaoh's heart is heavy: he refuses to let the people go. 15. Go to Pharaoh in the morning; behold, he goes forth to the water,

¹ vii. 14, xi. 8. The Plagues of Egypt. Here again two documents have been fused together, but the fusion is much less perfect than in the preceding chapters, and sometimes the compiler has given one or other document pure and unmixed. The following table gives the distinctive features in the two narratives. The clear light we have here is reflected to some small extent on chap. iv.-vi. :—

JAHVIST.

Moses is enabled to perform three marvels in order *that he may satisfy the children of Israel of his mission*. His shepherd's staff is changed into a serpent, his hand becomes leprous and is restored in a moment, he changes water into blood. Observe that *the staff has no magical power*: it is the subject, not the instrument of miracle, iv. 1-12. Moses works no wonder before Pharaoh. He *merely predicts punishments which Yahweh will send on the next day*, and afterwards intercedes for the king on his promise of amendment. In the plague of flies, viii. 16-28, and the cattle-plague, ix. 1-7, we have the Jahvist narrative pure and simple. The author says that Pharaoh's *heart was heavy or dull*, ix. 7; that he *made his own heart heavy or dull*, viii. 28, *not that Yahweh made it so*.

ELOHIST.

Moses is to do the signs *with a magic rod or staff which is called the staff of God*, iv. 17, 20^b. Moses is to *do wonders* with it before Pharaoh.

We have the account of the Elohist pure and unmixed in the account of the three days' darkness, x. 21-29. There is no stress laid on *prediction*, nor any occasion to do so. Moses at Yahweh's bidding stretches out his hand and the preternatural darkness begins.

Yahweh makes Pharaoh's heart strong or firm (the Hebrew word being quite different from that used by the Jahvist).

and thou shalt stand by the river's brink to meet him, *and the staff* which was turned to a serpent *shalt thou take in thy hand.* 16. And thou shalt say to him, "Yahweh the God of the Hebrews has sent me to thee, saying, Let my people go, that they may worship me in the wilderness: and, behold, hitherto thou hast not hearkened. 17. Thus says Yahweh, In this shalt thou know that I am Yahweh: behold, I will strike *with the staff that is in my hand* on the waters which are in the Nile, and they shall be turned into blood. 18. And the fish that is in the Nile shall die, and the Nile shall stink, and the Egyptians will try in vain to drink water from the Nile." 20 aß. *And he lifted up the staff and struck the waters that were in the Nile in the sight of Pharaoh and in the sight of his servants, and all the waters that were in the river were turned to blood.* 21^a. And the fish that were in the river died, and the river stank, and the Egyptians could not drink water from the river. 24. And all the Egyptians dug round about the Nile for water to drink, for they were not able to drink of the water of the Nile.

25. And when seven days were complete, after Yahweh had struck the Nile, 26. Yahweh said to Moses, 'Go to Pharaoh and say to him, "Thus says Yahweh, Let my people go that they may worship me. 27. And, if thou refuse to let them go,

We have in x. 13, 14 an excellent illustration of the way in which the compiler has often mingled the two accounts. The Jahvist writes, 'Yahweh brought an east wind upon the land all that day and all the night, and when it was morning the east wind brought the locusts' (13^b.) The Elohist writes, 'Yahweh said to Moses, "Stretch out thine hand over the land of Egypt for the locusts that they may come up,"' etc. (12.) And Moses stretched out his rod over the land of Egypt (13^a), and the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt' (14). Two distinct accounts have been united. In one Yahweh brings the locusts gradually by an east wind, in the other Moses summons them by stretching out his hand with the magic wand. The account which makes the 'wand of Elohim' so prominent may with great probability be assigned to the Elohist; the other account is marked throughout by the vocabulary and style of the Jahvist (see Dillmann, *Exod.* p. 65). But it is not always possible to disentangle the two narratives, and the compiler has added something of his own. The name of Aaron, as has been said, is intruded without any obvious reason. He is mentioned and then ignored.

behold, I will plague all thy territory with frogs. 28. And the Nile shall swarm with frogs which shall go up and come into thy house and into thy bedchamber and upon thy bed, and into the house of thy servants and of thy people,¹ and into thine ovens and thy kneading troughs. 29. And the frogs shall come up both on thee and upon thy people, and upon all thy servants.'"

. . . . VIII. 4. And Pharaoh called for Moses (and Aaron) and said, 'Entreat Yahweh, that he take away the frogs from me and from my people, and I will let the people go that they may sacrifice to Yahweh.' 5. And Moses said to Pharaoh, 'Have thou this glory over me: for what time shall I entreat in thy behalf, and for thy servants, and for thy people, that the frogs be destroyed from thee and thy houses, and remain only in the Nile?' 6. And he said, 'For to-morrow.' And he said, 'Be it according to thy word, that thou mayest know that there is none like Yahweh our God. 7. And the frogs shall depart from thee and from thy houses and from thy servants and from thy people: only in the Nile will they be left.' 8. And Moses (and Aaron) went out from Pharaoh and Moses cried to Yahweh about the agreement concerning the frogs which he had made with Pharaoh. 9. And Yahweh did according to the word of Moses, and the frogs died out of the houses, out of the courts, and out of the fields. 10. And they gathered them together in heaps, and the land stank. 11^a. But when Pharaoh saw that there was a respite, he made his heart heavy.

16. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Stand before Pharaoh early in the morning; behold, he comes forth to the water, and say to him, "Thus says Yahweh, Let my people go that they may worship me. 17. Else if thou wilt not let my people go, behold, I will send the gadfly upon thee and thy servants and thy people and into their houses, and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of the gadfly and also the ground on which they are. 18. And I will sever in that day the land of Goshen in which

¹ 'Of thy people.' So LXX.

my people dwell, that no gadfly may be there, that thou mayest know that I Yahweh am in the midst of the land. 19. And I will make redemption [by distinguishing] between my people and thy people. By to-morrow shall this sign be." 20. And Yahweh did so; and there came grievous swarms of gadflies into Pharaoh's house and into his servants' houses and in all the country of Egypt the land was destroyed because of the gadfly. 21. And Pharaoh called for Moses (and for Aaron) and said, 'Go, sacrifice to your God in the land.' 22. And Moses said, 'It is not fitting to do so, for we shall offer sacrifices to Yahweh our God, which the Egyptians abominate: lo, we shall offer sacrifices which the Egyptians abominate¹ before their eyes, and will they not stone us?' 23. Let us go three days' journey into the wilderness and sacrifice to Yahweh our God, as he shall bid us.' 24. And Pharaoh said, 'I will let you go, that you may sacrifice to Yahweh your God in the wilderness: only you shall not go very far away: entreat for me.' 25. And Moses said, 'Behold, I go out from thee and I will entreat Yahweh that the gadfly may depart from Pharaoh and from his servants and from his people to-morrow: only let not Pharaoh deal deceitfully any more, in not letting the people go that they may sacrifice to Yahweh.' 26. And Moses went out from Pharaoh and entreated Yahweh. 27. And Yahweh did according to the word of Moses and he removed the flies from Pharaoh, from his servants and his people, not one was left. 28. And Pharaoh made his heart heavy this time also, and he did not let the people go.

IX. 1. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Go in to Pharaoh and

¹ 'Sacrifices which the Egyptians abominate,' i.e. the Hebrews sacrificed certain animals which the Egyptians considered unfit for the purpose. The Egyptians, according to Herod. ii. 45, only sacrificed bulls, calves, and geese, and even these must possess certain qualities and be declared pure by the priests, Herod. ii. 38. The priest after scrupulous examination affixed his seal to a piece of byblus wrapped round the bull's horn: 'and for one sacrificing a victim without this seal, the penalty is death.'

tell him, "Thus says Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may worship me. 2. For if thou refuse to let them go and still keep hold of them, 3. behold, the hand of Yahweh will be upon thy cattle which is in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the herds and upon the flocks; [there will be] a very grievous murrain. 4. And Yahweh shall sever between the cattle of Israel and the cattle of Egypt, and there shall nothing die of all that belongs to the children of Israel." 5. And Yahweh appointed a set time, saying, 'To-morrow Yahweh will do this thing in the land.' 6. And Yahweh did that thing on the morrow and all the cattle of Egypt died, but of the cattle of the children of Israel, not one died. 7. And Pharaoh sent and, behold, there was not so much as one of the cattle of Israel dead. But the heart of Pharaoh was heavy, and he did not let the people go.

13. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Stand before Pharaoh early in the morning and say to him, "Thus says Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, Let my people go that they may worship me. (14. For I will this time send all my plagues upon thy heart and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, that thou mayest know there is none like me in all the earth. 15. For now I had put forth my hand and struck thee and thy people with pestilence, and thou hadst been cut off from the earth: 16. but in very deed for this cause have I let thee stand, to shew thee my strength, and that my name may be declared in all the earth.) 17. Thou still exaltest thyself against my people, that thou wilt not let them go. 18. Behold, to-morrow about this time I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as has not been in Egypt from the day it was founded, until now. 19. Now therefore send, hasten in thy cattle, and all that thou hast in the field; every man and beast which shall be found in the field and shall not be brought home,—the hail shall come down on them and they shall die."' 20. He that feared the word of Yahweh among Pharaoh's servants made his slaves and his

servants flee into the houses, 21. but he that did not regard Yahweh's word, left his slaves and his cattle in the field. 22. *And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Stretch forth thy hands towards heaven, that there may be hail in all the land of Egypt, on man and beast, and on every herb of the field throughout all the land of Egypt.'* 23. *And Moses stretched out his staff to the heaven, and Yahweh sent thunder, and hail and fire ran down to the earth, and Yahweh rained hail on the land of Egypt.* 24. **And there was hail and continuous fire in the midst of the hail, very grievous, such as had not been in all the land of Egypt, since it belonged to a nation.** 25. And the hail struck throughout all the land of Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast, and the hail struck all the herb of the field and broke every tree of the field. 26. Only in the land of Goshen in which the children of Israel were, there was no hail. 27. And Pharaoh sent and called for Moses (and Aaron) and said to them, 'I have sinned this time: Yahweh is righteous, and I and my people are wicked. 28. Make entreaty to Yahweh: enough of God's thunderings and hail, and I will let you go and you shall not tarry any longer.' 29. And Moses said to him, 'As soon as I am gone out of the city, I will spread out my hands to Yahweh; the thunderings shall cease, neither shall there be any more hail, that thou mayest know that the earth is Yahweh's. 30. But, as for thee and thy servants, I know that you will not yet be afraid of Yahweh.'¹ 31. And the flax and the barley were struck, for the barley was in ear and the flax in flower. 32. But the wheat and the spelt were not struck, for they grow up late. 33. And Moses went out of the city and spread out his hands to Yahweh, and the thunders and hail ceased, and the rain was not poured out on the earth. 34. And when Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail and the thunders were ceased, he sinned yet more and made

¹ Yahweh. So LXX. The Hebrew has 'Yahweh-God,' a collation which never occurs in the Hexateuch except in Gen. ii. iii. Probably some MSS. read Yahweh, others Elohim, from the union of which the 'conflate' reading of the Masoretic text arose.

his heart heavy, he and his servants. 35. And the heart of Pharaoh was firm, and he did not let the children of Israel go, as Yahweh had spoken by Moses.

X. 1 And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Go in to Pharaoh . . . for I have made his heart heavy and the heart of his servants, that I might set my signs in the midst of them,¹ 2. and that thou mayest tell in the ear of thy son and of thy son's son, how I have mocked the Egyptians and the signs which I have set amongst them, that you may know that I am Yahweh.' 3. And Moses (and Aaron) went in to Pharaoh, and said to him, 'Thus says Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? Let my people go, that they may worship me. 4. **Else if thou refuse to let my people go, behold, to-morrow will I bring locusts into thy territory:** 5. and they shall cover the face of the earth, so that one shall not be able to see the earth, and they shall eat the residue of that which is escaped, which remains to you from the hail, and shall eat every tree which grows for you out of the field, 6. and thy houses shall be filled and the houses of all thy servants, and the houses of all the Egyptians; as neither thy fathers nor thy fathers' fathers have seen, from the day that they were upon the ground to this day.' **And he turned and went out from Pharaoh.** 7. And Pharaoh's servants said, 'How long shall this fellow be a snare to us? Let the men go, that they may worship Yahweh their God: knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?' 8. And Moses (and Aaron) were brought back again to Pharaoh and he said to them, 'Go worship Yahweh your God; but who are the persons that shall go?' 9. And Moses said, 'We will go with our young and with our old, with our sons and with our daughters, with our flocks and with our herds will we go, for we have a feast of Yahweh to keep.' 10. And he said to them, 'May Yahweh be with you

¹ 'In the midst of them.' So LXX., Syr. The Hebrew, 'in the midst of him,' or 'it,' is unintelligible.

as surely as it is sure that I shall let you and your children go :¹ look to it, for you have mischief in view. 11. Not so : go now, you that are men, and worship Yahweh, since that is what you desire :’ and they were driven from Pharaoh’s presence. 12. *And Yahweh said to Moses, ‘Stretch out thine hand over the land of Egypt for the locusts,² that they may come upon the land of Egypt and eat every herb of the land, all that the hail has left.’* 13. *And Moses stretched forth his staff over the land of Egypt, and Yahweh brought an east wind on the land all that day and all the night, and when it was morning the east wind brought the locusts.* 14. And the locusts came upon the whole land of Egypt, and rested in all the territory of Egypt—very grievous ; before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such. 15. And they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened, and they ate every herb of the land and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left, and no green thing was left, either tree or herb of the field through all the land of Egypt. 16. **Then Pharaoh called in haste for Moses (and Aaron), and said, ‘I have sinned against Yahweh your God and against you. 17. Now, therefore, pray forgive my sin only this once, and entreat Yahweh your God, that he may take away from me only this death.’** 18. And he went forth from Pharaoh and entreated Yahweh. 19. And Yahweh turned an exceeding strong west wind, which took up the locusts and drove them into the Red Sea : not one locust remained in all the border of Egypt. 20. *And Yahweh made Pharaoh’s heart firm, and he did not let the children of Israel go.*

21. *And Yahweh said to Moses, ‘Stretch forth thy hand to the heavens, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, a*

¹ ‘As it is sure,’ etc. *i.e.* Let your chance of Yahweh’s blessing be equal to your chance of getting from me the leave you ask. In other words, the chance be no chance at all.

² ‘For the locusts.’ This is no doubt the sense, but in the Hebrew the construction is intolerably hard, and the text probably corrupt.

darkness which may be felt.' 22. And Moses stretched forth his hand to the heaven and there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt for three days; 23. they did not see one another, neither did any one rise from his place during three days, but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings. 24. And Pharaoh said to Moses, 'Go, worship Yahweh; only let your flocks and herds be left behind: let your little ones also go with you.' 25. And Moses said, 'Thou must also give into our hand sacrifices and burnt-offerings, that we may sacrifice to Yahweh our God. 26. Our cattle also shall go with us; there shall not an hoof be left behind, for thereof must we take to worship Yahweh our God; and we do not know with what we shall worship Yahweh until we come thither.' 27. But Yahweh made Pharaoh's heart firm, and he was not willing to let them go. 28. And Pharaoh said to him, 'Get thee from me: beware of seeing my face again, for in the day thou seest my face thou shalt die.' 29. And Moses said, 'Thou hast spoken well: I will not see thy face any more.'

XI. 1. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Yet one plague more will I bring upon Pharaoh and upon Egypt: afterwards he will let you go hence: when he shall let you go completely, he shall even drive you out hence. 2. Speak now in the ears of the people and let them ask, every man of his neighbour, and every woman of her neighbour, jewels of silver and jewels of gold.' 3. And Yahweh gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, moreover, the man Moses was very great in the sight of Pharaoh's servants and in the sight of the people. 4. **And Moses said, 'Thus says Yahweh, At midnight I will go out in the midst of Egypt. 5. And all the first-born will die in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sits upon his throne to the first-born of the handmaiden that is behind the mill; and all the first-born of cattle. 6. And there shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, the like of which has not been, and the like of which shall not be again. 7. But against all the children of Israel not a dog shall whet its tongue, against man or beast, that you may know how Yahweh dis-**

tinguishes between the Egyptians and the children of Israel.

8. And all these thy servants shall come down to me and shall bow down to me, saying, "Get thee out and all the people that follow thee," and after that I will go out.' And he went out from Pharaoh in hot anger. XII. 29. And it came to pass at midnight that Yahweh smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne, to the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon, and all the first-born of cattle. 30. And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he and all his servants and all the Egyptians, and there was a great cry in Egypt, for there was no house where there was not one dead. 31. And he called for Moses (and for Aaron) and said, 'Rise up and get you forth from among my people, both you and the children of Israel, and go, worship Yahweh, as you have said. 32. Take both your flocks and your herds, as you have said, and go: and bless me also.' 33. And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, to send them out of the land in haste, for they said, 'We are all dead men.' 34. And the people took their dough before it was leavened, their baking dishes being bound up in their clothes on their shoulders. 35. And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses, and they asked from the Egyptians jewels of silver and jewels of gold, and raiment. 36. And Yahweh gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they let them have what they asked, and they spoiled the Egyptians. 37. So the children of Israel journeyed to Succoth with . . . men¹ on foot besides children. 38. And also a mixed multitude went up with them, and flocks and herds, very much cattle. 39. And they baked the dough which they brought out of Egypt into unleavened cakes, for it was not

¹ 'With . . . men.' The text, as it stands, has with 600,000 men, and this is the number given repeatedly and with great detail by the 'Priestly Writer.' Kittel seems to be justified in expunging it from the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' For (1) this verse is admittedly interpolated in the spirit of the 'Priestly Writer.' (2) Although the vast number occurs again apart from the 'Priestly Writer' in Num. xi. 21, still this chapter has been

leavened; for they were driven out of Egypt and could not tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any victual.

XIII. 17. *And it came to pass*¹ *when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God did not lead them by the way of the land of the Philistines, though that was near, for God said, 'Lest the people repent when they see war, so that they will return to Egypt.'* 18. *But God turned the people round in the direction of the desert towards the Red Sea and the children of Israel went up armed out of the land of Egypt.* 19. *And Moses took Joseph's bones with him, for he had made the children of Israel swear, saying, 'God will surely visit you, and you shall carry up my bones away hence with you.'* 21. *And Yahweh went before them*² *in a pillar of cloud by day to lead them on the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light, that they might go by day and by night:* 22. *the pillar of cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night, did not depart from before the people.*

XIV. 5. *And it was told the king of Egypt that the people were fled, and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was*

much altered by the editor of the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' (3) It seems unlikely that any author, however naïve, should mention the enormous number of the Israelites, and add immediately that they might have been afraid of the petty Philistine states. It is possible that the number here may be due to the editor who united the Jahvist and Elohist documents, but it is at least as likely that the number was inserted by the final editor of the Hexateuch.

¹ 'And it came to pass.' In this § 17-19 there can be no doubt as to authorship. 'Elohim' occurs three times, and ver. 19 is distinctly connected with an earlier portion of the Elohist narrative, viz. Gen. i. 25.

² 'And Yahweh went before them,' xiii. 21—xiv. 31. Here the narrative is mostly from the Jahvist. Pharaoh finding that the Hebrews, instead of merely taking the leave given to worship Yahweh in the wilderness, are gone altogether, pursues them with an army. Yahweh in the pillar of cloud stands between the hosts and prevents the Egyptians from overtaking the fugitives. During the night Yahweh by a strong east wind drives the sea back, so that both armies cross dry-shod to the opposite shore. There the battle begins: but Yahweh from the cloud strikes the Egyptians with panic: they flee in confusion: the sea returns to its former bed and Pharaoh and his soldiers are all drowned. There is scarcely anything here which claims to be miraculous, the retreat of the sea is a natural occurrence, although, like other natural occurrences, caused and directed by Yahweh. The close resemblance here

changed¹ towards the people, and they said, 'What is this we have done, that we have let Israel go from being slaves to us?' 6. And he made ready his chariots and took his people with him: 7. And he took six hundred chosen chariots and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains [?] over all of them. 9. And the Egyptians pursued after them, all the chariots and horses of Pharaoh and his army. 10. And when Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lifted up their eyes and, behold, the Egyptians marched after them, and they were sore afraid. 11. And they said to Moses, 'Was it because there are no graves in Egypt that thou hast taken us away to die? What is this that thou hast done to us, to bring us forth out of Egypt?' 12. Is not this the word that we spoke to thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may be slaves to the Egyptians? For it were better for us to be slaves to the Egyptians than that we should die in the wilderness.' 13. And Moses said to the people,

to the Jahvist's account of the plagues is evident; there too the Jahvist makes Yahweh act as a rule through ordinary and natural causes. The authorship of the Jahvist becomes more certain when we find traces of another hand, viz., that of the Elohist. According to him it is 'the angel of God' (19^a), not the pillar of the cloud, who comes between the Israelites and Egyptians. It is not a natural cause, such as the east wind, but a supernatural one which turns sea into land. Moses raises his staff, the very staff with which, according to the Elohist, he brought the plagues. Unfortunately the Elohist account closely resembled that of the 'Priestly Writer,' and it is only here and there that we have a fragment of the Elohist narrative. Still, 'the magic rod' seems to be, in spite of Kuenen's objection, from the Elohist. Thus, according to the Jahvist, the sea was driven back gradually by the strong east wind; according to the Elohist the miracle was done, of course instantaneously, by the rod of Moses; according to the 'Priestly Writer' by the hand of Moses. True, one who raises his rod may also be said, and is said, to raise his hand. But in xiv. 16 the redundancy of expression, 'Raise thy staff and stretch out thine hand,' makes it likely that we have a fragment of the Elohist mingled with the story as told by the 'Priestly Writer.'

¹ 'The heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was changed.' Quite naturally, because, according to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' the Hebrews had never asked more than leave of absence for the purpose of sacrifice and for a short time.

'Fear not: stand still and see the salvation of Yahweh which he will work for you to-day, for as you have seen the Egyptians to-day, you shall not see them any more for ever. 14. Yahweh will fight for you and you shall hold your peace.' . . . 16^a. *And do thou raise thy staff* . . . 19. *And the angel of God who went before the children of Israel removed and went behind them, and the pillar of cloud removed from before them and stood behind them: 20. and it came between the camp of Egypt and the camp of Israel . . .*¹ *and the one came not near the other all the night. 21^b. And Yahweh drove the sea back with a strong east wind all the night, and made the sea dry land. 24. And it came to pass in the morning watch that Yahweh looked forth upon the host of the Egyptians, in the pillar of fire and cloud, and threw the host of the Egyptians into confusion. 25. And he took off their chariot wheels and made them drive heavily; and the Egyptians said, 'Let us flee from the face of Israel, for Yahweh fights for them against the Egyptians.'* 27^b. *And the sea returned to its former state when the morning appeared, and the Egyptians fled towards it, and Yahweh whirled the Egyptians together in the midst of the sea: 28^b. there remained not so much as one of them. 30. And Yahweh saved Israel on that day from the hand of the Egyptians, and Israel saw the Egyptians dead on the sea shore. 31. And the people feared Yahweh, and they believed in Yahweh and in his servant Moses.*

¹ 'And it came between the camp of Egypt and the camp of Israel.' . . . In the Hebrew text the next words are, 'And there was the cloud and the darkness, and it gave light by night.' They do not give any sense, for the luminous qualities of the cloud would not keep the armies apart but the contrary. The words are generally taken to mean that the cloud was luminous on the side of the Israelites, dark on that of the Egyptians. This interpretation, however, does not get a meaning out of the text, but puts a meaning into it. The LXX. has, 'There was darkness and cloud and the night passed,' which shows that the Greek translators had a different text before them. Evidently our text is corrupt: the versions afford no help and conjectural emendations have not mended the matter.

XV. 1. Then Moses and the children of Israel sang this song¹ to Yahweh and spoke, saying,

- ‘I will sing to Yahweh for he has raised himself high ;
The horse and his driver has he thrown into the sea.
2. Yahweh is my strength and my song,
And he has brought me victory ;
This is my God and I will praise him,
My father’s God and I will exalt him.
3. Yahweh is a man of war,
Yahweh is his name.
4. The chariots of Pharaoh and his army he cast into the sea,
And his chosen captains [?] are sunk in the Red Sea.
5. The deeps cover them ;
They went down into the depths like a stone.
6. Thy right hand, Yahweh, is glorious in strength ;
Thy right hand, Yahweh, dashes in pieces the enemy.
7. And in the greatness of thine eminence thou overthrowest
them that rise up against thee ;
Thou sendest forth thy burning fury, it consumes them as
stubble.

¹ ‘This song.’ It is generally admitted that the song is post-Mosaic. It must indeed have been written centuries after his time, for it implies not only that the Israelite tribes were settled in Canaan and gathered into national unity, but also that they had one central shrine (ver. 17). This central shrine could only be Solomon’s temple, for the tabernacle set up at Sinai and finally placed at Shiloh is the late fiction of the ‘Priestly Writer.’ On the other hand, the song must have been written long before the exile, since its exultant tone would be unnatural in a time of political dissolution and decay. It gives an account of the crossing of the Red Sea which is substantially natural and credible, and so far confirms belief in the reality of the event. Ver. 19 is not a part of the song but an explanatory rubric, and may have been taken like the song itself from some poetical collection, or else was added by the final editor of the Hexateuch. Unlike the song and the Jahvist, it makes Israel walk through the sea. There is a distinct quotation from the song in Isaiah xii. 2, but the authorship and date of this chapter of Isaiah are quite uncertain. Verses 20, 21 are probably from the Elohist, who mentions Aaron and Miriam in Num. xii. and speaks of Abraham as a prophet, Gen. xx. 7.

8. And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were piled up,
The floods stood upright as a heap,
The depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.
9. The enemy said, "I will pursue, I will overtake,
I will divide the spoil, my lust shall be satisfied upon them,
I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them."
10. Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them ;
They sank as lead in the mighty waters.
11. Who is like thee, Yahweh, among the gods ?
Who is like thee, glorious in holiness ?
Fearful in praises ¹ doing wonders.
12. Thou didst stretch out thy right hand,
The earth swallowed them.
13. Thou in thy kindness hast led the people which thou hast
redeemed,
Thou hast guided them in thy strength to thy holy dwelling.
14. The peoples have heard, they tremble ;
Pangs have taken hold on the inhabitants of Philistia.
15. Then were the dukes of Edom amazed,
The rams of Moab—trembling takes hold of them,
All the inhabitants of Canaan melted away.
16. Terror and dread falls upon them,
By the greatness of thine arm they are still as a stone,
Till thy people pass over, O Yahweh ;
Till thy people pass over, which thou hast gotten.
17. Thou bringest them in, thou plantest them in the mountain
of thine inheritance,
The place, O Yahweh, which thou hast made for thee to
dwell in,
The sanctuary, O Yahweh, ² which thy hands have established.
18. Yahweh shall reign for ever.

¹ 'Fearful in praises,' *i.e.* fearful, because of the attributes for which thy servants praise thee.

² 'Yahweh.' So Sam. and some Hebrew mss.

19. For Pharaoh's horses went with his chariots and riders into the sea and Yahweh brought again the waters of the sea upon them, but the children of Israel walked on dry land in the midst of the sea.'

20. And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out after her with timbrels and dances. 21. And Miriam answered them,

'Sing to Yahweh, for he has raised himself high,

The horse and his driver he has cast into the sea.'

22. *And Moses led Israel onward from the Red Sea and they went out into the wilderness of Shur; and they went three days in the wilderness and found no water.* 23. *And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter: therefore its name was called Marah:* 24. *And the people murmured against Moses, saying, 'What shall we drink?'* 25. *And he cried to Yahweh, and Yahweh showed him a tree and he cast it into the waters, and the waters were made sweet. There he made for them a statute and an ordinance,¹ and there he proved them.* 26. And he said, 'If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of Yahweh thy God, and do that which is right in his eyes, and give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of the diseases upon thee which I put upon the Egyptians, for I am Yahweh who heals thee.'

. . . XVII. 1^b.² And the people had no water to drink. 2. And the people strove with Moses and said, 'Give us water that we may drink.' And Moses said to them, 'Why do you

¹ 'There he made for them a statute and an ordinance.' These words recur in the narrative of the Elohist (Josh. xxiv. 25), so that the connected verses 22-25 are generally assigned to him. Ver. 26 is in the style of the Deuteronomist, and has been probably added by an editor.

² xvii. 1^b.8. Here 3-6 must be in the main from the Elohist, as is shown by the mention of the magic staff or rod and the reference to its use in Egypt. But 1^b and 2 are clearly a parallel from another hand, possibly that of the Jahvist, and 7 is connected with 2, because it gives the name Massa, derived from the 'tempting' of Yahweh mentioned in 2. The mention of Horeb in ver. 6 is surprising, as the people had not yet got so far. It may be an interpolation.

strive with me? Why do you tempt Yahweh?' 3. *And the people thirsted there for water and the people said, 'Why hast thou brought me out of Egypt to kill me and my children and my cattle with thirst?'* 4. *And Moses cried to Yahweh, saying, 'What shall I do to this people? They are almost ready to stone me.'* 5. *And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Pass before the people and take with thee some of the elders of Israel, and take in thy hand thy staff with which thou didst strike the Nile and go.* 6. *Behold, I will stand before thee there on the rock in Horeb, and thou shalt strike the rock and water shall come out of it, that the people may drink.'* *And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel.* 7. And he called the name of the place Massah and Meribah, because of the striving of the children of Israel, and because they tempted Yahweh, saying, 'Is Yahweh among us or not?'

8.¹ *And Amalek came and fought with Israel at Rephidim.* 9. *And Moses said to Joshua, 'Choose out men for us and go out, fight with Amalek: to-morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the staff of God in my hand.* 10. *And Joshua did, as Moses had said to him, and fought with Amalek, and Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill.* 11. *And it came to pass whenever Moses raised up his hand,² that Israel prevailed, and whenever he let down his hand, that Amalek prevailed.* 12. *But Moses' hands were heavy; and they took a stone and put it under him and he sat on it, and Aaron and Hur supported his hands, the one on the one side and the other on the other, and his hands were steadied, till the going down of the sun.* 13. *And Joshua laid Amalek and his people low by the edge of the sword.* 14. *And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Write this for a memorial in a*

¹ xvii. 8-16. Another story about the magic rod and therefore from the Elohist, who, however, refers in ver. 14 to an older document from which he may have drawn. We have another sign of the Elohist in the mention of Hur, who is only mentioned here and in xxiv. 14, which is also by the Elohist.

² 'Raised up his hand,' i.e. his hand with the magic rod. Comp. viii. 1, ix. 22 seq., x. 12 seq. There is no allusion to prayer.

book and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua, for I will utterly blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under the heavens.' 15. And Moses built an altar and called its name, 'Yahweh is my banner.' 16. And he said, [I swear it] with the hand [raised] to the throne of Yahweh: Yahweh will have war with Amalek from generation to generation.

XVIII.¹ 1. *Now Jethro, the priest of Midian, Moses' father-in-law, heard of all that God had done for Moses and for Israel his people, that Yahweh had brought Israel out of Egypt. 2. And Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, took Zipporah Moses' wife (after he had sent her away), 3. and her two sons, of whom the name of the one was Gershom, for he said, 'I have been a sojourner in a strange land,' 4. and the name of the other was Eliezer, for [he said], 'The God of my father has been my help and has delivered me from Pharaoh's sword.' 5. And Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, came with his sons and his wife to Moses, into the wilderness where he was encamped, the mount of God. 6. And he said to Moses, 'I, thy father-in-law Jethro, am come to thee, and thy wife and her two sons with her.' 7. And Moses went out to meet his father-in-law and bowed down and kissed him; and they asked each other of their welfare and they came into the tent. 8. And Moses told his father-in-law all that Yahweh had done to Pharaoh and the Egyptians for Israel's sake, all the travail that had overtaken*

¹ Chapter xviii. : Undoubtedly by the Elohist. Observe (1) the frequent use of Elohim. (2) The name Jethro, whereas the Jahvist calls the father-in-law of Moses Reuel, or rather Hobab, son of Reuel. See the note on Exod. ii. 18. (3) Jethro here brings with him the wife and sons of Moses. According to the Jahvist, Moses had taken them with him on his return to Egypt. However, 2^b is an addition by the compiler who awkwardly attempts to harmonise the Elohist with the Jahvist, and the interchange of the names Yahweh and Elohim with the repetitions or parallels in 1, 5, 9, and still more in 10, point to some admixture of Jahvist material. It is generally supposed that the Elohist must have placed this story later in connection with the legislation at Horeb. Even verses which contain some admixture of the Jahvist have been marked as Elohistic, these additions being slight, immaterial, and not to be distinguished with certainty. But we can hardly err in assigning 1^b to the Jahvist.

them on the way, and how Yahweh delivered them. 9. And Jethro rejoiced because of all the goodness which Yahweh had done to Israel, in that he had delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians. 10. And Jethro said, 'Blessed be Yahweh who has delivered you from the hand of the Egyptians and from the hand of Pharaoh, who has delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians. 11. Now I know that Yahweh is greater than all gods, yea, in the thing wherein they dealt proudly against them.¹ 12. And Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, took a burnt offering and sacrifices for God, and Aaron came and all the elders of Israel to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law before God. 13. And it came to pass on the morrow that Moses sat to judge the people, and the people stood about Moses from morning till evening. 14. And when Moses' father-in-law saw all that he did to the people, he said, 'What is this thing which thou doest to the people? Why dost thou sit alone and all the people stand about thee from morning to evening?' 15. And Moses said to his father-in-law, 'Because the people come to me to inquire of God: 16. when they have a matter, they come to me,² and I judge between a man and his neighbour, and I make known the statutes of God and his laws. 17. And Moses' father-in-law said to him, 'The thing that thou doest is not good. 18. Thou wilt surely wear away both thou and the people that is with thee, for the thing is too heavy for thee: thou art not able to perform it thyself alone. 19. Listen now to my voice, I will give thee counsel, and God be with thee: be at the people's service in relation to God and do thou bring the causes to God: 20. and thou shalt teach them the statutes and laws, and shalt show them the way in which they shall walk and the work that they must do. 21. Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating

¹ 'Yea, in the thing.' So the English Revised Version, but it is very doubtful if this meaning can be extracted from the Hebrew text. Dillmann translates 'for by that wherein they dealt proudly against them [he destroyed them],' supposing that the word in brackets has been omitted by mistake.

² 'They come to me.' Text corrected from LXX.

unjust gain, and place such over them to be rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. 22. And let them judge the people at all seasons, and it shall be that every great matter they shall bring to thee, but every small matter they themselves shall judge: and make it easier for thyself and let them bear [the burden] with thee. 23. If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee so, then shalt thou be able to endure, and all this people also shall go to its place in peace.' 24. And Moses listened to the voice of his father-in-law and did all that he had said. 25. And Moses chose able men out of all Israel and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. 26. And they judged the people at all seasons: the hard cases they brought to Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves. 27. And Moses let his father-in-law go, and he went his way to his own land.

XIX. 2^{b1} And Israel encamped there before the mount. 3. And Moses went up to God and Yahweh called to him from the mountain, saying, 'Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob

¹ xix. 2^b-xxxiv. 28. (The Decalogue, the 'Book of the Covenant,' etc., etc.) This narrative abounds in difficulties, one of which affects its whole structure and may be discussed here. From Sinai God proclaims the 'Ten Words' or Decalogue in the hearing of the people. The people are terrified, and after that Moses alone approaches God and receives a code of laws (xx. 23-xxiii.). Moses reads this code to the people; they promise to obey it, and on these terms enter into a solemn covenant with Yahweh (xxiv. 3-8). In these verses which relate this solemn engagement into which the people enter, there is no allusion to the Decalogue. Indeed although the Decalogue was given before the 'Book of the Covenant,' the people as yet have not bound themselves to the former at all, it is simply ignored. Next, Moses ascends the mount again, stays there forty days and nights, and receives two tables of stone inscribed with the Decalogue which had been previously uttered by God, both the tables and their inscription being the work of the divine hands. Meantime the people fall into idolatry: Moses in his vexation breaks the tables, hews out others, and again ascends the mount for forty days, during which God writes the Decalogue anew on the tables. And now, as if no 'Book of the Covenant' had existed, the Decalogue is called 'the words of the covenant.' 'And he (Yahweh) wrote on the tables the words of the covenant, the ten words.' Thus, there is no allusion to the 'Book of the Covenant,' just when such allusion would seem inevitable, viz., in the long story of Israel's fall and restoration.

and tell the children of Israel; 4. You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagle's wings and brought you to myself. 5. And now, if ~~you~~ you will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then you shall be to me a peculiar treasure from among all peoples, for all the earth is mine, 6. and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. These are the words which thou shalt speak to the people of Israel.' 7. And Moses came and called for the elders of the people and set before them all these words which Yahweh commanded him. 8. And all the people answered together and said, 'All that Yahweh has spoken we will do.' And Moses reported the words of the people to Yahweh. 9. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Lo, I come to thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak to thee, and may also believe thee for ever.' And Moses told the words of the people to Yahweh. 10. *And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Go to the people and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their garments,'* 11. and let them be ready for the third day, for the third day Yahweh will come down in the sight of all the people on Mount Sinai.

(xxxii.-xxxiv.). Now of course a writer might describe a covenant made on a double basis, viz., on that of the Ten Words and on that of the 'Book of the Covenant,' or he might describe two covenants, one on each basis. It is not, however, conceivable that the same writer should put the text of the Decalogue and the 'Book of the Covenant' together, and then write sometimes as if the Decalogue, sometimes as if the Code or 'Book of the Covenant,' were the sole basis of union between Yahweh and his people.

Wellhausen's theory, if it could be accepted, would afford an easy explanation. According to him the Decalogue with its story belongs to the Elohist, the 'Book of the Covenant' with its story to the Jahvist. This theory, however, may be confidently dismissed. The 'Book of the Covenant' no less than the Decalogue betrays unmistakable marks of the Elohist's style. Such are the frequent use of 'Elohim,' the repeated use of Amah for 'maidservant' (not Shiphchāh as in the Jahvist), the mention of sacred pillars erected by Moses at the conclusion of the covenant (such pillars being mentioned in Genesis at least four times and never by the Jahvist).

The difficulty then can only be met by supposing with Dillmann (vol. iii. p. 616) and Kuenen, whose arguments are stated fully in the *Theol. Tijdschr.* xv. p. 164 *seq.*, that there has been some change made in the original order of the narrative. Kuenen calls attention to the fact that the Deuteronomist,

12. *And thou shalt set bounds to the people round about, and take heed to yourselves, that you go not up to the mount or touch the border of it; whosoever touches the mount shall surely be put to death:*
 13. *no hand shall touch him, but he shall surely be stoned or shot through; whether it be beast or man, it shall die: at the blast of the ram's horn they shall come up to the mount.* 14. *And Moses went down from the mount to the people and sanctified the people and they washed their garments.* 15. *And he said to the people, 'Hold yourselves ready for three days; come not near a woman.'*
 16. And it came to pass on the third day, when it was morning, that there were thunders and lightnings and thick cloud on the mountain, and the voice of a trumpet; and all the people that were in the camp trembled. 17. *And Moses brought forth the people from the camp to meet God, and they stood at the base of the*

who, as is admitted on all sides, was familiar both with the Decalogue and the 'Book of the Covenant,' recognises the Decalogue alone as promulgated at Mount Horeb. At the same time, he states that God communicated to Moses on Mount Horeb 'the commandments, the statutes, and the judgments' which he was to teach at some future time to the people (Deut. v. 28). Accordingly, Kuenen believes that the Elohist related the promulgation of the Decalogue by God on Mount Horeb, that he placed the promulgation of the 'Book of the Covenant' by Moses to the people at some much later period, perhaps in the 'steppes of Moab' shortly before his death. In that case, the editor who united the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' with the Deuteronomical Code, would be obliged to displace the 'Book of the Covenant,' in order to make room for the Deuteronomical Code, which also professed to have been promulgated in the 'steppes of Moab.' This hypothesis, though only an hypothesis, accounts for the facts. If with Dillmann we place the 'Book of the Covenant' between Exod. xxiv. 12^a, 13 *seq.* and xxxi. 18^b, *i.e.* between the time when Moses goes up the mount to receive the tables inscribed with the Decalogue and the actual reception of these tables by him, the silence of the Deuteronomist about the promulgation of the Book of the Covenant is not explained. Nor can it be seen on this theory why the 'Book of the Covenant' in its present place remains without any proper introduction.

Although both the Decalogue and the 'Book of the Covenant' come to us from the Elohist, I do not mean to say that the Jahvist had no hand in the narrative before us. The traces of his authorship are however extremely uncertain till we reach xxxiv., and I have contented myself with indicating the passages which may be assigned with at least a high degree of probability to the Elohist.

mountain. 18. And Mount Sinai was altogether on smoke, because Yahweh went down on it in fire, and its smoke went up like the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mountain trembled exceedingly. 19. And when the voice of the trumpet grew louder and louder, Moses spoke and Yahweh answered him with a voice. 20. And Yahweh came down on Mount Sinai to the top of the mount, and Yahweh called Moses to the top of the mount and Moses went up. 21. And Yahweh said, 'Go down, charge the people, lest they break through to Yahweh to gaze, and many of them fall dead. 22. And let the priests¹ also who draw near to Yahweh sanctify themselves, lest Yahweh break forth upon them.' 23. And Moses said to Yahweh, 'The people cannot come up to Mount Sinai, since thou hast charged them, saying, "Set bounds about the mount and sanctify it."' 24. And Yahweh said to him, 'Go, get thee down, and thou shalt come up, thou, and Aaron with thee, but let not the priests and the people break through to come up to Yahweh, lest he break forth upon them.' 25. And Moses went down to the people and said to them²

XX. 1.³ *And God spoke all these words, saying:*

2. *'I am Yahweh, thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slaves.'*

¹ 'The priests.' Note that this author takes the existence of priests for granted before and independently of all legislation. Almost all critics (Wellhausen, Dillmann, Jülicher, Kittel) attribute the verse and those connected with it (at least 20, 21, 25) to the Jahvist. In that case the same author assumes that the name Yahweh, the distinction of clean and unclean animals, the institution of the priesthood, were familiar from time immemorial. It was only later writers who professed to determine the precise times at which these things were introduced by definite legislation.

² 'And said to them.' What? Evidently the narrative has been mutilated.

³ xxi. 17. The Decalogue. We have no means of determining the age of the Decalogue. It must have arisen long after the Israelites had passed from a nomad to a settled life. It is the 'house,' and not, as in Arabic, the tent (*Ahl*=Heb. *Ohel*), which stands for a man's familia or household, and the Sabbath implies the settled life of agriculture. An agriculturist needs rest

3. *'Thou shalt have no other gods beside me.* 4. *Thou shalt not make for thyself a graven image of any form¹ that is in the heavens above or that is in the earth beneath or which is in the waters under the earth:* 5. *thou shalt not bow thyself down to them or serve them, for I, Yahweh thy God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, to the third and the fourth generation of them that hate me,* 6. (and showing kindness to thousands of them that love me² and keep my commandments).

7. *'Thou shalt not utter the name of Yahweh thy God for a vain cause, for Yahweh will not hold him guiltless, who utters his name for a vain cause.*

8. *'Remember the Sabbath-day to sanctify it.* 9. *Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work:* 10. *but the seventh day is a sabbath to Yahweh thy God; [in it] thou shalt not do any work, thou, or thy son, or thy daughter, thy man-servant, or*

and can rest from tillage. A nomad's life is usually so idle that no day of rest is needed, while, on the other hand, such work as the nomad does, driving cattle, milking them, etc. cannot be remitted on one day recurring every week. Moreover, if the second 'word' be an integral part of the whole, the Decalogue must have arisen after the worship of Yahweh in the form of an ox was considered unlawful. To this mode of worship neither Elijah nor Elisha seems to have made any objection, and it is very doubtful whether any protest was made against it before the reiterated and energetic protest of Hosea. We may then conjecture that the Decalogue arose in the eighth or, perhaps, seventh century before Christ. The reasons appended to the earlier 'words' are certainly later than the 'words' themselves. This appears from the fact that the reasons appended to the fourth and fifth vary in the Decalogue as repeated in Deuteronomy v.; while further it is just in these expansions that we find expressions manifestly borrowed from later writers. The 'words' were originally short precepts like those in the 'Book of the Covenant,' and thus the disproportion in bulk between the precepts of the first and second table disappears.

¹ 'Of any form.' Text corrected by aid of the reading in Deut. v. 8.

² 'Them that love me.' Verse 6 is (in spite of Dillmann's objections) almost certainly an addition from the Deuteronomist. The love of God is constantly mentioned in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomical portions of Joshua, but nowhere else in the Hexateuch. See an instructive essay by Winter, *Z. A. T.* for 1889, p. 211.

*thy maid-servant, or thy cattle (nor thy stranger that is within thy gates).*¹

12. *'Honour thy father and thy mother (that thy days may be long on the land which Yahweh thy God gives thee).*

13. *'Thou shalt do no murder.*

14. *'Thou shalt not commit adultery.*

15. *'Thou shalt not steal.*

16. *'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.*

17. *'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house,² thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbour's.'*

18. *And all the people saw the thunderings and the lightnings and the voice of the trumpet and the mountain smoking; and when the people saw, they were moved, and stood far off.* 19. *And they said to Moses, 'Speak thou with us and we will hear, but let not God speak with us, lest we die.'* 20. *And Moses said to the people, 'Fear not, for God is come to prove you, and that his fear may be before you, that you may not sin.'* 21. *And the people stood far off, and Moses drew near to the thick darkness where God was.* 22. *And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: "You have seen³ that I have spoken with you from the heavens.* 23. *You shall not make with me gods of silver; and gods of gold you shall not make to you.* 24. *An altar*

¹ 'Within thy gates' is a characteristic expression of the Deuteronomist, and so is the Hebrew phrase translated 'that thy days may be long.' It constantly occurs in Deuteronomy, and nowhere else in the Hexateuch except Josh. xxiv. 31, which is by the Deuteronomist.

² 'House.' The 'house' includes a man's household property, of which his wife, no less than his ox, forms a part. Contrast the recension of this precept in the Deuteronomist, who takes a more humane view of marriage. The prohibition of an internal fault such as 'coveting' surprises one in such a code. Possibly intrigue and plots to secure unjust possession may be meant. Compare the use of the word in xxxiv. 24.

³ 'You have seen,' etc. These words to the end of 23 do not form any part of the Book of the Covenant. There (except when additions have been made to the text) the form of address is always in the singular, 'Thou shalt,' not 'You shall.'

of earth¹ shalt thou make to me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen: in every place where I cause my name to be remembered, I will come to thee and bless thee. 25. And if thou make me an altar of stones, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones, for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it.² 26. And thou shalt not go by steps to my altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon."

XXI. 1. 'Now these are the judgments³ which thou shalt set before them.

2. 'When thou buyest a Hebrew slave, he shall serve six years, and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. 3. If he come in by himself he shall go out by himself; if he be married, then his wife shall go out with him. 4. If his master give him a wife and she bear him sons and daughters, the wife and the children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself. 5. But if the slave

¹ 'An altar of earth.' The writer knew nothing of the Deuteronomical reform which limited sacrifice to the single altar at Jerusalem, still less of the law in the 'Priestly' code, which assumed that even in the wilderness sacrifice was offered only at the altar of the tabernacle. Wherever the worshipper feels impelled to remember Yahweh, he is to erect an altar, which may be either of earth or unhewn stone. The Syr. has instead of 'Where I cause my name to be remembered,' 'Where thou shalt cause my name to be remembered,' i.e. celebrate it. Kuenen may be right in preferring this reading.

² 'Thou hast polluted.' For the early superstitions which forbade the use of iron, see Frazer's *Golden Bough*, i. pp. 172-178.

³ 'These are the judgments.' Here we have (putting aside a few verses in xxxiv.) the oldest Hebrew code in existence, the only one contained in the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' The antiquity appears (1) in the freedom of worship. There is no thought of confining it to a central sanctuary. (2) In the prominence given to civil relations. Religion is not all in all. Israel is a nation and not a church. (3) In the antique character of the language. It begins (as was pointed out in 1840 by Bertheau in his *Sieben Gruppen mosaischer Gesetze*, p. 21) with ten laws on Hebrew slaves, divided into two sets of five each, relating to male and then to female slaves. Each pentad or set of five is introduced by the word 'when,' and the four laws which follow in each case by the word 'if.' This arrangement of the laws in two pentads recurs in the laws on bodily injury, xxi. 18-32, and in the laws referring to litigation, xxiii. 1-3, 6-9. The arrangement is identical with that of the Decalogue, and is probably ancient. At the same time the 'Book of the Covenant' implies throughout a settled agricultural life and the moral

shall plainly say, "I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free:" 6. then his master shall bring him to God¹ and shall bring him to the door or to the door-post, and his master shall bore his ear with an awl, and he shall be a slave to him for ever. 7. And when a man sells his daughter to be a maid-servant, she shall not go forth as slaves do. 8. If she please not her master who designated her [as a concubine] for himself, then he shall suffer her to be bought free: he shall have no power to sell her to a foreign people, because he has dealt unfaithfully with her. 9. And if he designated her for his son, he shall deal with her according to the right of daughters. 10. If he shall take another woman for himself, he shall not diminish her flesh-meat, her clothing, and her cohabitation. 11. And if he do not these three things to her, then shall she go out for nothing, without money.

12. 'He that strikes a man, so that he die, shall surely be put to death. 13. But if a man lie not in wait, but God caused it to happen to his hand, I will appoint thee a place to which he shall flee.² 14. But when a man comes wickedly against his neighbour, to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from my altar, that he may die. 15. And he that strikes his father and mother shall surely be put to death. 17. And he who curses his father or his mother shall surely be put to death. 16. And he that steals a man, one of the children of Israel,³ whether he sell him or whether the stolen man be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

18. 'And when men contend and one strikes the other with a

precepts correspond to those of the prophets in the eighth century B.C. It is vain to attempt any precise determination of date. The code throughout uses the singular form of address, but here and there there are evident interpolations, betrayed by the use of the plural form, the severance of connection and the hortatory tone.

¹ 'To God,' *i.e.* to the local sanctuary.

² 'A place to which he shall flee,' *i.e.* the altar of the local sanctuary, as appears from the following verse.

³ 'One of the children of Israel.' This clause, which has a genuine ring, is preserved in the LXX. It is the rights of the Hebrew slave and the Hebrew freeman over which the legislator watches. He is not awake to the rights of man, as man. The LXX. have also preserved the true order in verses 16, 17.

stone or with his fist, and he die not, but keep his bed: 19. if he rise and walk abroad on his staff, then he that struck him shall be quit, only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed. 20. And when a man strikes his slave or his maid-servant with a stick and he dies under his hand, vengeance shall surely be taken. 21. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, no vengeance shall be taken, for he is his money. 22. And if men strive together and hurt a woman with child, so that her children come forth but no [other] mischief follow, he shall be surely fined, according as the woman's husband shall lay upon him, and he shall pay, as the judges shall determine. 23. But if [further] mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life, 24. eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, 25. burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe. 26. And when a man strikes the eye of his slave, or the eye of his female slave and destroy it, he shall let him go free for the sake of his eye. 27. And if he smite out the tooth of his slave or the tooth of his female slave, he shall let him go free for the sake of his tooth. 28. And when an ox gores a man or a woman that they die, the ox shall surely be stoned, and its flesh shall not be eaten, but the owner of the ox shall be quit. 29. But if the ox were wont to gore in time past and it has been notified to its owner, and he has not kept him in, and it shall kill a man or a woman, the ox shall be stoned, and its owner also shall be put to death. 30. If there be laid on him a ransom, then he shall give for the redemption of his life whatsoever is laid upon him. 31. Or if it has gored a son or a daughter, according to this judgment shall it be laid upon him. 32. If the ox gore a male or female slave, he shall pay their master thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned.

33. 'And when a man shall open a pit or when a man shall dig a pit and shall not cover it, and an ox or an ass fall therein, 34. the owner of the pit shall make it good, he shall make restoration in money to its owner and the dead [beast] shall be his. 35. And when one man's ox gores another's, so that it dies, then they shall sell the live ox and divide the price of it and the dead one also

shall they divide. 36. Or if it be known that the ox was wont to gore in time past and his owner did not keep it in, he shall surely pay ox for ox and the dead [beast] shall be his own. 37. When a man steals an ox or a sheep, and shall kill it or sell it, he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep. XXII. 1. If the thief be found breaking in and be struck, so that he die, he [i.e. the slayer] shall not incur the guilt of bloodshed. 2. If the sun be risen upon him, he shall incur the guilt of bloodshed: he [i.e. the thief] shall surely make restitution: if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft. 3. If the theft be found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep, he shall pay double. 4. When a ~~man~~¹ shall cause [his own] field or vineyard to be eaten, and shall let his beast loose, so that it feed in another man's field, he shall surely make restitution from his own field in proportion to its produce; but if he shall cause the whole field [of his neighbour] to be eaten, from the best of his own field and the best of his own vineyard shall he make restitution. 5. When fire breaks out and catches in thorns, so that the shocks of corn or the standing corn or the field be consumed, he who kindled the fire shall surely make restitution.

6. 'When a man shall give his neighbour money or goods to keep and they shall be stolen from the man's house, if the thief be found, he shall restore twofold. 7. If the thief be not found, the owner of the house shall draw near to God [to see] whether he have not put his hand on his neighbour's property.

8. 'For every matter of trespass, whether it be for ox, for ass, for sheep, for raiment, or for any manner of lost thing, whereof one says, "This is it," the cause of both parties shall come before God; he whom God shall condemn,² shall restore twofold to his neighbour. 9. When a man shall give his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a

¹ 'When a man.' The text of this ver. has been restored from Sam. and LXX. If, in depasturing his own field, a man lets his beast stray on his neighbour's land, restitution must be made in proportion. If the stray beast consumes all that is in the field, the quality of the crop cannot be known, hence the owner of the stray beast must restore from the best of his own crop.

² 'Shall condemn.' Probably by the sacred lot or by a priestly oracle. The Hebrew word for 'priest' is the same as the Arabic *Kāhin*, 'soothsayer.'

sheep, or any beast to keep and it dies or is hurt or driven away, no man seeing it, 10. the oath of Yahweh shall be between them both, whether he has not put his hand on his neighbour's property, and the owner of it shall accept [the oath], and [the other] shall not make restitution. 11. But if it be stolen from him, he shall make restitution to its owner. 12. If it be torn in pieces, let him bring it as a witness: he shall not make good that which is torn. 13. And if a man borrow [a beast] from his neighbour and it be hurt or die, the owner thereof not being with it, he shall surely make restitution. 14. If its owner be with it, he shall not make it good: if it was hired, [the loss] is reckoned in its hire. 15. And when a man shall entice a virgin who is not betrothed and shall lie with her, he shall pay a dowry for her to be his wife. 16. If her father utterly refuse to give him to her, he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins.

17. 'Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live. 18. Whosoever lies with a beast, shall surely be put to death. 19. He who sacrifices to any god save to Yahweh alone, shall be put under the ban.¹ 20. And a sojourner shalt thou not wrong, neither shalt thou oppress him (for you were sojourners in the land of Egypt. 21. You shall not oppress any widow or orphan); 22. if thou afflict them in any wise, verily, if he cry to me, I will surely hear his cry, 23. (and my wrath will grow hot and I will slay you with the sword and your wives shall be widows and your sons orphans). 24. If thou lend money to one of my people with thee that is poor, thou shalt not be to him as a creditor (you shall not lay upon him usury). 25. If thou at all take thy neighbour's garment to pledge, thou shalt restore it to him by sundown: 26. for that is his only covering: wherein shall he sleep? And it shall come to pass that he will cry to me and I will hear, for I am gracious.

¹ 'Under the ban,' i.e. not only killed, but killed for the honour of Yahweh. The 'cherem' or ban was applied in the case of a besieged city. If Yahweh enabled the Israelites to conquer, then all living things were consecrated to him by destruction, and the place left desolate. Compare 1 Sam. xv. especially 33; Judges ix. 45; Josh. vi. 26.

27. *'Thou shalt not revile God or curse a ruler of thy people.*
 28. *Thou shalt not delay [the offering from] thy fulness and thy sap: the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt give to me.* 29. *So shalt thou do with thine oxen and thy sheep: seven days shall it be with its dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it to me.* 30. (And you shall be holy men to me: therefore you shall not eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; you shall cast it to the dogs.)

XXIII. 1. *'Thou shalt not take up a false report: put not thy hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness.* 2. *Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil, neither shalt thou bear witness in a cause to turn aside after a multitude to wrest judgment:* 3. *neither shalt thou favour a poor man¹ in his cause.* 4. *If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again.* 5. *If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying down under its burden, thou shalt refrain from leaving it to him alone; thou shalt loose it with him.* 6. *Thou shalt not wrest the right of thy poor neighbour in his cause.* 7. *Keep far from a false matter, and the innocent and righteous slay thou not; for I will not justify the wicked.* 8. *And thou shalt not take a gift, for a gift blindeth those that see and perverts the cause of the righteous.* 9. *And a sojourner thou shalt not oppress* (for you know the heart of a sojourner, since you were sojourners in the land of Egypt).

10. *'And six years thou shalt sow thy land and shalt gather in the increase thereof:* 11. *but the seventh year² thou shalt let it rest and leave it, that the poor of thy people may eat, and what they leave the beast of the field shall eat: so shalt thou do with thy vineyard and with thine oliveyard.* 12. *Six days shalt thou do thy work and on the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thy maidservant and the*

¹ 'Neither shalt thou favour a poor man,' etc. i.e. from party spirit. Probably some warning against the greater danger of undue favour to the rich has been omitted. In verses 4 and 5 the text is corrupt and really cannot be translated into sense.

² 'The seventh year,' which was not the same for all, but might vary in each individual case, so that the precept was practical.

sojourner may be refreshed. 13. (And in all things that I have said to you take heed, and make no mention of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard out of your mouth.) 14. ¹ *Three times thou shalt keep a feast to me in the year.* 15. *The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep; seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee at the time appointed in the month Abib, for in it thou didst come forth from Egypt, and none shall appear before me empty:* 16. *and the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labours, of that which thou sowest in the field, and the feast of ingathering at the end of the year when thou gatherest in thy labours out of the field.* 17. *Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord Yahweh.* 18. *Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread, and the fat of my feast shall not remain all night till the morning.* 19. *The firstlings, the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring into the house of Yahweh thy God. Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk.*

20.² *'Behold, I send an angel before thee to keep thee by the way and to bring thee to the place which I have prepared.* 21. *Take heed of him and hearken to his voice, and be not rebellious against him, for he will not pardon your transgressions, since my name is in him.* 22. *But if thou shalt indeed hearken to his voice and wilt do all that I speak, then I will be an enemy to thine enemies and*

¹ 14-19. This section has been altered, as appears from the imperfect connection. Still the original character of the feasts which was natural and agricultural is preserved. The Israelites keep the feast of the beginning of harvest in Abib, the month of the full ear, of the completed harvest and of the vintage. Only in the case of the first feast an historical reference to the Exodus has been added. 'Seething a kid in its mother's milk' must have been a practice of heathen idolators. But no trustworthy information on the subject survives.

² 20-33. The code ends like later codes with promises and blessings. This section witnesses strongly to the antiquity of the code, for not only is all allusion to exile absent, but it retains a genuine historical recollection of the fact that the Israelites were at first few, and dispossessed the Canaanites little by little. The interpolations which represent the Canaanites as driven out and destroyed by Yahweh, and inculcate implacable hostility to them, are easily recognised.

an adversary to thine adversaries. 23. (For mine angel shall go before thee and bring thee to the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Canaanite, the Hivite and the Jebusite : and I will cut them off. 24. Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them nor do after their works, but thou shalt utterly overthrow them and break in pieces their pillars.) 25. *But you shall serve Yahweh your God and he shall bless thy bread and thy water, and I will keep sickness far from thy midst.* 26. *There shall none cast her young or be barren in thy land, the number of thy days will I complete.* 27. *I will send my terror before thee and will throw into confusion all the people to whom thou shalt come, and I will make all thine enemies turn their backs to thee.* 28. *And I will send the hornet before thee which shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite from before thee.* 29. *I will not drive them out from before thee in one year, lest the land become, desolate and the beast of the field multiply against thee.* 30. *By little and little, I will drive them out before thee, until thou be increased and inherit the land.* 31. *And I will set thy border from the Red Sea to the Sea of the Philistines and from the wilderness to the river [Euphrates], (for I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand, and thou shalt drive them out before thee.* 32. Thou shalt make no covenant with them or with their gods. 33. They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they make thee sin against me).

XXIV. 1. *And he said to Moses, 'Go up to Yahweh,'¹ thou*

¹ 'And he said to Moses, Go up to Yahweh.' Moses had gone up long ago (xx. 21), and had just received the 'Book of the Covenant.' Therefore this verse and 2, 9-11, which go with it, have no connection with the 'Book of the Covenant,' but are connected with xix. 13^b, 20-25. These verses are a fragment of a story according to which not only Moses but also the elders and priests ascended the mountain and partook of a meal provided by Yahweh, whom they saw. How offensive this anthropomorphism was to a later age appears from the manner in which the LXX. have altered the verse in question, and from the flat contradiction of them in Deut. iv. 12, 15. It is impossible to say in what connection these fragments originally stood. On the other hand, we have in 3-8 the conclusion of the covenant in immediate connection with chapter xxiii.

and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu and seventy of the elders of Israel, and you shall bow down afar off: 2. and Moses alone shall come near to Yahweh, and they shall not approach, and the people shall not go up with him. 3. And Moses came and told the people all the words of Yahweh and all the judgments, and all the people answered with one voice and said, 'All the words which Yahweh has spoken we will do.' 4. And Moses wrote all the words of Yahweh, and early in the morning he built an altar under the mountain, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel. 5. And he sent young men¹ of the children of Israel and they offered burnt-offerings and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen to Yahweh. 6. And Moses took half the blood and put it in basins and half the blood he sprinkled on the altar. 7. And he took the book of the covenant and read in the ears of the people, and they said, 'All that Yahweh has spoken will we do and be obedient.' 8. And Moses took the blood and sprinkled it on the people and said, 'Behold, the blood of the covenant which Yahweh has made with you on the basis of all these words.' 9. And Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel went up, 10. and saw the God of Israel, and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone and as the very heaven for clearness. 11. But upon the nobles [?] of the children of Israel he did not lay his hand, and they saw God and ate and drank. 12. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Come up to me to the mountain and be there, and I will give thee the tables of stone (and the law and the commandment which I have written to teach them.)'² 13. And Moses rose up and Joshua his minister, and Moses went up to

¹ 'Young men.' So that the author of this verse seems to have believed that then there were no official priests. Contrast xix. 22, 24 (probably by the Jahvist).

² 'And the law and the commandment which I have written to teach them.' What were 'the law and the commandment' here distinguished from the tables of stone? Not the 'Book of the Covenant,' which was written by Moses, not by Yahweh. Dillmann rightly refuses to regard the clause as any part of the original text. Much is to be said for Kuenen's theory that we have the original form of the clause in Deut. v. 27: 'Stand thou

the mountain of God. 14. *And he said to the elders,¹ 'Do you tarry here for us, till we return to you, and, behold, Aaron and Hur are with you: whosoever has a cause, let him come near to them.* 15. *And Moses went up to the mountain.* 16.^b *And Moses was in the mountain forty days and forty nights.* XXXI. 18. *And he gave to Moses the two tables, tables of stone written with the finger of God.*

XXXII.² 1. *And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down from the mountain, the people gathered themselves together to Aaron, and said to him. 'Up, make us a god who shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him.'* 2. *And Aaron said to them, 'Break off the golden rings which are in the ears of your wives, your sons and your daughters, and bring them to me.* 3. *And all the people broke off the golden rings which were in their ears and brought them to Aaron.* 4. *And he received it at their hand and fashioned it with a graving tool and made it a molten calf: and they said, 'This is thy God, O Israel, who brought thee forth from the land of Egypt.'* 5. *And when*

here by me and I will speak to thee, all the commandments and the statutes and the judgments which thou shalt teach them.' Thus we understand why Moses had to tarry on the mount so long a time as forty days. He received the 'judgments' which compose the 'Book of the Covenant' on Mount Horeb, though he did not impart them to the people till much later.

¹ 'Elders.' Some critics, e.g. Kittel, conjecture that we should read 'people.' Certainly it seems strange to take for granted that strife would break out among the elders.

² xxxii. The idolatry of the people and its punishment. The fact that we have here a composite narrative is not questioned. Further, it is agreed that 15-20 (at least with slight exceptions) must on linguistic grounds be assigned to the Elohist. (See Kuenen, *Onderz.* 1. § 8. 13.) Kuenen seems to be right in holding that 1-6 and 35 are connected in sense with 15-20. According to these verses, Moses and Joshua, as they are coming down from Mount Horeb, hear the tumult of the people. Joshua thinks the sound is the shout of war, but Moses divines its real meaning, breaks the tables in his indignation, and afterwards destroys the calf which Aaron has made. Yahweh destroys 3000 of the people. This story cannot well be earlier than the reign of Hezekiah, and points indeed to a date later than 722, when Samaria was destroyed. Then the old worship of Yahweh under the form of a calf, long

Aaron saw [this], he built an altar before it and Aaron made proclamation and said, 'To-morrow is a feast of Yahweh.' 6. *And early on the next day they offered burnt-offerings and brought peace-offerings, and the people sat down to eat and drink and rose up to play.*

7. And Yahweh spoke to Moses, 'Go get thee down, for thy people, which thou broughtest up out of the land of Egypt, have done corruptly. 8. They have turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them: they have made them a molten calf and they have bowed down to it and sacrificed to it, and have said, "This is thy God, O Israel, who brought thee forth from the land of Egypt." 9. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiff-necked people. 10. And now let me alone, that my anger may be hot against them and that I may consume them, and I will make of thee a great nation.' 11. And Moses besought Yahweh his God and he said, 'Why, O Yahweh, is thine anger hot against thy people which thou hast brought forth from the land of Egypt with great power and with a mighty hand? 12. Why should the Egyptians speak, saying, "For evil did he bring them forth to slay them in the mountains and to consume them from the face of the ground. Turn from the heat of thine anger and repent of the evil against thy people. 13. Remember Abraham, and Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to

maintained by kings and Levitical priests (Judges xviii. 30) received its death-blow, and the prophetic doctrine that Yahweh was to be worshipped without images prevailed. This story being complete in itself, it follows that 7-14, in which Yahweh tells Moses on the mountain that the people have fallen into idolatry, and in which Moses obtains pardon for them, is an interpolation. It is inconsistent with the fact that in 15-20 Moses and Joshua discover the sin of the people, evidently for the first time, by the evidence of their senses, and with the vengeance of Yahweh in ver. 35. The story of the massacre of the idolaters by the Levites and the consequent consecration of the Levites to the priesthood (21-29) is a still later interpolation. The author wished to vindicate the character of the priestly order, and in doing so fell into hopeless variance with the original story that their chief was responsible for the idolatry, and that Yahweh himself undertook the punishment. He also ignores the former interpolation (7-14), according to which the sin had been already forgiven.

whom thou didst swear by thyself and didst say to them, "I will multiply your seed as the stars of the heavens, and all this land that I have spoken of I will give to your seed, and they shall inherit it for ever." 14. And Yahweh repented of the evil which he said he would do to his people.

15. *And Moses turned and went down, with the two tables in his hand, tables that were written on both their sides ; on this side and on that were they written.* 16. *And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven on the tables.* 17. *And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said to Moses, ' There is a noise of war in the camp.'* 18. *And he said, ' It is no sound from the voice of them that prevail, and no answering sound from the voice of them that are beaten down : it is the sound of singing that I hear.'* 19. *And it came to pass that when he came near the camp, that he saw the calf and the dancing ; and Moses' anger grew hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and broke them beneath the mountain.* 20. *And he took the calf which they had made and burnt it with fire, and ground it to powder, and strewed it on the water, and made the children of Israel drink.* 21. *And Moses said to Aaron, ' What has this people done to thee, that thou hast brought a great sin upon them ?'* 22. *And Aaron said, ' Let not the anger of my lord grow hot : thou knowest the people that it is [sunk] in evil.* 23. *And they said to me, " Make us a god who shall go before us ; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we know not what has become of him."* 24. *And I said to them, " Whosoever has any gold, let them break it off : "* so they gave it to me, and I cast it in the fire and there came out this calf.' 25. *And when Moses saw that the people were broken loose ; for Moses had let them loose for a derision among their enemies ;* 26. *then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, ' Whoso is on the side of Yahweh, [let him come] to me.'* And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together to him. 27. *And he said to them, ' Thus says Yahweh the God of Israel, " Put you every man his sword on his thigh, and go to and fro*

from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour." 28. And the sons of Levi did according to the word of Moses, and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men. 29. And Moses said, 'Fill your hand to-day [with an offering] to Yahweh, for every man has been against his son and against his brother; and [do this] that a blessing may be bestowed on you this day.' 30. And it came to pass on the morrow that Moses said to the people, 'You have sinned a great sin, and now I will go up to Yahweh: perhaps I shall make atonement for your sin.' 31. And Moses returned to Yahweh and said, 'Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made themselves a god of gold. 32. Yet now if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of the book which thou hast written.' 33. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Whosoever has sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book. 34. And now go, lead the people to [the place] of which I have spoken to thee: behold, mine angel shall go before thee, but in the day when I visit,¹ I will visit their sin upon them.' 35. *And Yahweh smote the people because they made the calf which Aaron made.*

XXXIII. i.² *And Yahweh spoke to Moses, 'Depart, go up hence, thou and the people which thou hast brought up out of the land of Egypt, to the land of which I swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, To thy seed will I give it: 2. and I will*

¹ 'In the day when I visit.' This may refer to the fall of Samaria in B.C. 722.

² xxxiii. 1-6. Wellhausen, Dillmann, Kuenen, Kittel, all see traces of the Elohist here. According to Dillmann's excellent analysis, the narrative of the Elohist ran thus: God calls the people to leave Horeb for Canaan, and promises to send his angel (so LXX. in ver. 2) according to his promise in xxiii. 20. The people mourn because they are to leave the mountain of God, and put off their ornaments in which they have kept feast before the ark and 'tent of meeting.' An interpolator has expanded the text (comp. 2^b with xxxii. 13, also an interpolation); and in ver. 3, which breaks the connection and even the grammar, he has introduced an entirely foreign idea. Instead of identifying the 'angel' with the presence of Yahweh, he distinguishes between the two, and in the teeth of xxiii. 20 he represents the presence of the angel as a punishment connected with the fall into idolatry.

send my angel before thee, and he will drive out¹ the Canaanite, the Amorite and the Hittite, and the Perizzite and the Hivite and the Jebusite: 3. to a land flowing with milk and honey; for I will not go up in the midst of thee, for thou art a stiff-necked people, lest I consume thee in the way.' 4. And when the people heard these evil tidings, they mourned, and no man put his ornaments upon him. 5. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Say to the children of Israel, You are a stiff-necked people: if I go up into the midst of thee for one moment, I will consume thee; therefore now put off thine ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do to thee.' 6. And the children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments from Mount Horeb and onwards.

7.² Now Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it for him³ without the camp, far off from the camp; and he called it the tent of meeting. And it came to pass that every one who inquired of Yahweh went out to the tent of meeting which was without the camp. 8. And it came to pass that as Moses went out to the tent that all the people arose and stood, every man at his tent-door, and gazed after Moses, till he was gone into the tent. 9. And it came to pass, when Moses entered into the tent, that the pillar of cloud descended and stood at the door of the tent and spoke with Moses. 10. And all the people saw the pillar of the cloud stand at the door of the tent, and all the people rose and bowed down, every man at his tent-door. 11. And Yahweh spoke to Moses face to face, as a man speaks to his friend. And he returned to the camp; but his minister Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, did not depart out of the tent.

¹ 'He will drive out.' So LXX.

² xxxiii. 7-11. The erection of the tent of meeting. Undoubtedly a fragment of the Elohist. He no doubt also mentioned here the making of the ark, to which he refers shortly afterwards. Observe that his notions of worship are in contrast to those of later times. The tent of meeting is outside the camp, it is not guarded by Levites, much less by the sons of Aaron but by Joshua, 'the minister' of Moses (comp. for the same phrase, which is characteristic of the Elohist, xxiv. 13).

³ 'For him,' i.e. for Yahweh; or perhaps 'for it,' i.e. for the ark.

12.¹ And Moses said to Yahweh, 'See, thou sayest to me, Bring up this people : and thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in my sight. 13. Now, therefore, I pray thee, if I have found grace in thy sight, teach me now thy ways, that I may know thee, in order that I may find grace in thy sight : and consider that this nation is thy people.' 14. And he said, 'My presence shall go, and I will give thee rest.' 15. And he said to him, 'If thy presence go not, carry us not up hence. 16. For, wherein now shall it be known that I have found grace in thy sight, I and thy people? Is it not in thy going with us, so that we be distinguished, I and thy people, from all the people that are on the face of the earth?' 17. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken, for thou hast found grace in my sight, and I have known thee by name.' 18. And he said, 'Shew me now thy glory.' 19. And he said, 'I will make all my beauty pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of Yahweh before thee, and I will deal graciously with him to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on him to whom I will shew mercy.' 20. And he said, 'Thou canst not see my face, for man cannot see me and live.' 21. And Yahweh said, 'Behold, there is a place beside me, and thou shalt stand on the rock : 22. and it shall come to pass, while my glory passes by, that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand, till I have passed by, 23. and I will take away my hand, and thou shalt see my back ; but my face shall not be seen.'

XXXIV. 1.² And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Hew for thyself

¹ 12-23. In this section two accounts are confused ; (1) the desire of Moses that Yahweh himself will go with the Israelites ; (2) the desire of Moses to see Yahweh. Dillmann assigns the whole section to the Jahvist, allowing, however, for transposition. There are really no sure signs of authorship. Of account (2) xxxiv. 2^b, 6-8 seem to form a part.

² xxxiv. 1-27. Here, at least in 10-27, a new element enters. The Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant have been given, and Moses has gone up the mount merely that Yahweh may renew the writing of the

two tables of stones like the first, and I will write on the tables the words which were on the first tables which thou didst break. 2. And be ready by the morning, and come up in the morning to Mount Sinai and present thyself there to me at the top of the mountain. 3. And no man shall come up with thee, neither let any man be seen throughout all the mountain, neither let the flocks or herds feed before all that mountain.' 4. And he hewed two tables of stones like the first, and early in the morning Moses went up to Mount Sinai, as Yahweh had commanded him, and took in his hand two tables of stones. 5. And Yahweh descended in the cloud, and he stood with him there and called on the name of Yahweh. 6. And Yahweh passed by before him, and proclaimed, 'Yahweh, Yahweh, a compassionate and gracious God, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy and truth, 7. keeping kindness for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, but one that will by no means clear [the guilty], visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children and the children's children to the third and fourth generation.' 8. And Moses made haste to incline himself and bow down. 9. And he said, 'If now I have found grace in thine eyes, my Lord, let my Lord go, I pray, in the midst of us, for it is a stiff-necked people : and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thine inheritance.' 10. And he said, 'Behold, I make a covenant ; before all thy people I will do marvels, such as have not been created in all the earth nor in any nation ; and all the people in the midst of

Decalogue. Instead of this, Yahweh makes a covenant without the slightest reference to any former one, and the 'words of the Covenant,' which follow, closely resemble the ritual portions in the 'Book of the Covenant.' Now, as the Decalogue and 'Book of the Covenant' come to us from the Elohist, it is natural to assign the 'words of the Covenant' to the Jahvist. Moreover, many critics (*e.g.* Wellhausen), adopting a suggestion of Goethe, have tried to disentangle ten 'words of the Covenant,' answering to the 'ten words' or decalogue of the Elohist. This, however, is mere guesswork, and we must content ourselves with the probability that we have fragments of the Jahvist here. Of course Wellhausen, who attributes the 'Book of the Covenant' to the Jahvist, is forced to imagine a third author for the 'words of the Covenant.'

which thou art, shall see the work of Yahweh, for it is a terrible thing that I do with thee. 11. Observe thou that which I command thee this day: behold, I drive out before thee the Amorite and the Canaanite and the Hittite, and the Perizzite and the Hivite and the Jebusite. 12. Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest: 13. but you shall break down their altars and dash in pieces their pillars and cut down the Asherahs:¹ 14. for thou shalt bow down to no other god, for Yahweh, whose name is jealous, is a jealous God. 15. See that thou make not a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, so that they go a whoring after other gods, and sacrifice to their gods, and one call thee and thou eat of his sacrifice: 16. and thou take of their daughters for their sons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods and cause thy sons to go a whoring after their gods. 17. Thou shalt not make for thyself molten gods. 18. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep: seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee at the appointed time in the month Abib, for in the month Abib thou camest out from Egypt. 19. All that opens the womb is mine, and all thy male cattle,² [namely,] the firstlings of cow and sheep. 20. And the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb, and, if thou wilt not redeem it, thou shalt break its neck.

21. 'Six days shalt thou work, but on the seventh day thou

¹ Asherahs, wooden poles erected like the 'pillar' of stone by the side of the altar, and sometimes apparently (1 Kings xv. 13) carved into an image. It is generally assumed (*e.g.* by Bâthgen, *Semit. Relig.*, p. 218) that this symbol was proper to the goddess Astarte. But of this no proof has been given. Still less can it be taken for granted (with Riehm, *Bibl. H.-W.-B.*, p. 112; Baudissin, *Stud.* ii. p. 212) that Asherah was the name of a goddess. The symbol may have been common to many deities, and the resemblance between the words Asherah and Astarte may be accidental. For an independent derivation of Asherah, see Robertson Smith, *Semit. Relig.*, p. 172. At the same time Asherah is certainly treated as a divine name in Judges iii. 7, 1 Kings xviii. 19. But the former passage is of late date, the other is interpolated (see Budde, *Richter u. Sam.*, p. 93; Stade, *Gesch. Isr.*, i. 526).

² 'Male cattle.' The usual correction of the text has been accepted.

shalt rest : in ploughing and in harvest thou shalt rest. 22. And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, of the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of ingathering at the turn of the year. 23. Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord Yahweh, the God of Israel. 24. For I will cast out nations before thee, and enlarge thy border ; and no man will desire thy land, when thou goest up to appear before Yahweh thy God three times in the year. 25. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread, and the sacrifice of the feast of Passover shall not be left till the morning. 26. The firstlings, the firstfruits of thy ground, shalt thou bring to the house of Yahweh thy God : thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk.'

27. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Write thou these words, for according to the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel.' 28. And he was there with Yahweh forty days and forty nights, he neither ate bread nor drank water : and he wrote on the tables the ten words, the words of the covenant.

Numbers X. 29.¹ And Moses said to Hobab, son of Reuel, the Midianite, Moses' father-in-law, 'We are journeying to the place of which Yahweh said, I will give it you : come thou with us and we will do thee good, for Yahweh has spoken good concerning Israel.' 30. And he said to him, 'I will not go, but I will depart to my own land and to my kindred.' 31. And he said, 'Leave us not, I pray thee, for thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness, and thou shalt be to us instead of eyes. 32. And it shall be, if thou wilt go with us, it shall be that the good which Yahweh shall do to us, we will do to thee.'

¹ Numbers x. 29-32 is by the Jahvist. It is he who calls Moses's father-in-law Hobab (*see* note on Exod. i. ii.), whereas the Elohist calls him Jethro or Jether. Here as elsewhere, *e.g.* in the history of the plagues, the Jahvist leaves large room for natural causes. The Jahvist must have represented Hobab as consenting at last to go with the Israelites, for a clan claiming descent from him settled among the Israelites (Judges i. 16, iv. 11)¹

33.¹ And they journeyed from the mountain of Yahweh three days ; and the ark of the covenant of Yahweh went before them during a journey of three days, to spy out a resting-place for them. 34. And the cloud of Yahweh was over them by day when they set forward from the camp. 35. And it came to pass, when the ark set forward, that Moses said—

‘Arise, Yahweh, and let thine enemies be scattered,
And let them that hate thee flee before thee.’

36. And when it rested, he said—

‘Return, Yahweh, to the myriads of the thousands of Israel.’

XI. 1.² And the people were as murmurers over evil in the ears of Yahweh ; and when Yahweh heard it, his anger was kindled ; and the fire of Yahweh burnt among them, and devoured at the end of the camp. 2. And the people cried to Moses, and Moses prayed to Yahweh, and the fire abated. 3. And the name of that place was called Taberah, because the fire of Yahweh burnt among them.

4. And the mixed multitude that was among them fell a lusting and the children of Israel also wept again and said, ‘Who will give us flesh to eat?’ 5. We remember the fish which

¹ 33-36. The verses which are quoted here contain the ancient view of the ark. In it Yahweh lived, so that when the ark went out to war, it was Yahweh himself who went out to fight ; when the ark returned, Yahweh returned. Comp. especially 1 Sam. iv.

² Ch. xi. It is clear and admitted by Dillman, no less than by Kuenen, that this chapter, from ver. 4 to the end, is not by one hand. We have A, the story of the quails. The people, weary of the manna, cry out for flesh. Yahweh sends it, but is angry and destroys the Israelites by plague. So 4-13, 30-33 : B, the story of the subordinate officers appointed to help Moses, and endowed with the spirit of prophecy—so 14, 16, 17, 24^b-30. Kuenen attributes A to the Jahvist, B to the Elohist ; 18-24^a being a later expansion of A by the editor, who united the Elohist with the Jahvist document.

This theory has weighty arguments in its favour. With regard to A, the prominence of natural causes, and particularly of the wind, speak for the Jahvist. Compare his story of the locusts, Exod x. 13, 19, and of the passage of the Red Sea, Ex. xiv. 21. An examination of the language tells in the same direction, and Dillmann is at one with Kuenen, at least as to the authorship of 4-6, 10-13. With regard to B, the stress laid on the prophetic dignity

we ate in Egypt for nothing, the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic,' 6. but now our soul is dried away : there is nothing at all : we have only this manna to look to. 7. And the manna was like coriander seed, and its appearance as the appearance of bdellium. 8. The people went about and gathered it, and ground it in mills, or beat it in mortars, and boiled it in pots and made it into cakes ; and its taste was like the taste of cakes baked with oil. 9. And when the dew fell on the camp by night, the manna fell with it. 10. And Moses heard the people weeping throughout their families, every man at the door of his tent, and the anger of Yahweh was kindled greatly, and in the eyes of Moses it was evil. 11. And Moses said to Yahweh, 'Why hast thou done evil to thy slave? and why have I not found grace in thy sight, that thou layest the burden of all this people on me? 12. Have I conceived all this people? or have I brought them forth, that thou shouldst say to me, Carry them in thy bosom, as a nursing-father carries the sucking child, to the land which thou swarest to their fathers? 13. Whence should I have flesh to give to all this people? For they weep to me, saying, Give us flesh, that we

of Moses (comp. Gen. xx. 7), the 'tent of meeting' and its position (comp. Exod. xxxiii. 7-11, and Num. xii.), testify to Elohist authorship. Here, however, the difficulty arises, that the Elohist has already in Exod. xviii. accounted for the appointment of subordinate officers. There the account is far more simple and natural. They are appointed at the suggestion of Jethro. Here they are endowed with the prophetic spirit, and Moses wishes that all Yahweh's people were prophets. This conception was strange to earlier times, for Saul's prophesying was thought extraordinary, but it is in harmony with a conception which appears at the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century B.C., viz., in Jeremiah xxxi. 31-33 ; Ezek. xi. 19 *seq.*, and still later in Joel iii. 1. Consequently Kuenen attributes B to a later editor of the Elohist document, who supplemented it when it was still a separate book. Lastly, in 18-24*, we have a later addition to A. In this § the people are to eat flesh till they loathe it. In the sequel they do nothing of the kind, but are killed by Yahweh before they can chew the flesh which he gives them. Dillmann assigns 4-29 (except 7-9), *i.e.* the whole of B, save one verse, and much of A to the Jahvist, and suggests that two stories of his on the quails and on the seventy elders have been pieced together by an editor.

may eat. 14. *I am not able to bear all this people alone, for it is too heavy for me.* 15. **And if thou deal thus with me, Kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found grace in thine eyes.**

16. *And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Gather to me seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and officers over them; and thou shalt bring them to the tent of meeting, that they may stand there with thee.* 17. *And I will come down, and talk with thee there; and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it on them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone.'*

18. *'And to the people thou shalt say, Sanctify yourselves for to-morrow and you shall eat flesh, for you have wept in the ears of Yahweh, saying, "Who shall give us flesh to eat? for it was well with us in Egypt."* Therefore Yahweh shall give you flesh, and you shall eat. 19. *You shall not eat one day, or two days, or five days, or ten days, or twenty days,* 20. *but a whole month, till it come out at your nostrils, and is loathsome to you, because you have rejected Yahweh who is among you, and have wept before him, saying, "Why did we come forth from Egypt?"'* 21. *And Moses said, 'The people among whom I am are six hundred thousand footmen and thou hast said, I will give them flesh, that they may eat a whole month.* 22. *Shall flocks and herds be slain for them, to suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?'* 23. *And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Is the hand of Yahweh shortened? Now shalt thou see whether my word will come to pass or no.'* 24. *And Moses went out and told the people the words of Yahweh.*

And he gathered together seventy men of the elders of the people, and set them round about the tent. 25. *And Yahweh came down in the cloud and talked to him, and took of the spirit that was upon him and put it upon the seventy elders: and it came to pass that when the spirit rested on them, they prophesied, but did so no more.* 26. *But there remained two men in the camp, the name of the one was Eldad, and the name of the second was Medad: and the spirit rested on them; now they were of them that were written, but had not gone out to the tent: and they were prophesying in the*

camp. 27. *And there ran a young man and told Moses, and said, 'Eldad and Medad are prophesying in the camp.'* 28. *And Joshua the son of Nun who ministered to Moses from his youth, answered and said, 'My lord Moses, forbid them.'* 29. *And Moses said to him, 'Art thou jealous for me? Would that all Yahweh's people were prophets, that Yahweh would put his spirit upon them!'* 30. *And Moses got him to the camp, he and all the elders of Israel.*

31. *And there went forth a wind from Yahweh, and brought quails from the sea, and let them fall by the camp about a day's journey on this side and a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp, and above two cubits above the face of the earth.* 32. *And the people rose up all that day and all the night, and all the next day, and gathered the quails: he that gathered least gathered ten homers, and they spread them all abroad for themselves round about the camp.* 33. *While the flesh was yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed, the anger of Yahweh was kindled against the people and Yahweh smote the people with a very great plague.* 34. *And they called the name of that place Kibroth-hattaavah, because there they buried the people that lusted.* 35. *From Kibroth-hattaavah the people journeyed to Hazeroth, and they abode at Hazeroth.*

XII. 1.¹ *And Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses* because of the Cushite woman whom he had married, for he had married a Cushite woman. 2. *And they said, 'Has Yahweh indeed spoken only with Moses? Has he not spoken also with us? And Yahweh heard.'* 3. *Now the man Moses was very meek above all the men that were on the face of the earth.* 4. *And Yahweh said suddenly to Moses and to Aaron and to Miriam, 'Come out, you three, to the tent of meeting.'* *And they three came out.* 5. *And Yahweh came down in a pillar of cloud, and stood at the door of*

¹ xii. 1-15. It is generally admitted that this § comes substantially from the Elohist document. The reflection on the nature and grades of prophecy mark a late date, and, like xi. 24^b-30, it belongs to a secondary stage of that document. It is at least doubtful, however, whether the statement in ver. 1 about the Cushite wife of Moses has anything to do with the rest of the story.

the tent, and called Aaron and Miriam and they both came forth. 6. *And he said, 'Hear now my word: if there be a prophet among you, I will make myself known¹ to him in a vision, I will speak to him in a dream.* 7. *Not so my servant Moses: he is faithful in all my house.* 8. *With him will I speak mouth to mouth, openly,² and not in dark speeches, and the form of Yahweh shall he behold. Wherefore then were you not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?* 9. *And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against them, and he departed.* 10. *And the cloud removed from over the tent, and, behold, Miriam was white as snow with leprosy; and Aaron looked on Miriam and, behold, she was leprous.* 11. *And Aaron said to Moses, 'O my lord, lay not, I pray thee, upon us the penalty of a sin, wherein we have done foolishly and which we have committed.'* 12. *Let her not, I pray, be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he comes out of his mother's womb.'* 13. *And Moses cried to Yahweh, saying, 'Not so,³ I beseech thee: heal her, I beseech thee.'* 14. *And Yahweh said to Moses, 'If her father had but spit in her face, should she not be put to shame seven days? Let her be shut up without the camp seven days and after that she shall be brought in again.'* 15. *And Miriam was shut up without the camp seven days, and the people journeyed not till Miriam was brought in again.*

16. And afterwards the people journeyed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran.

. . . XIII. 17.^{b4} And he said to them, 'Go up into the

¹ 'I will make myself known.' The text, as it stands, is ungrammatical, and Dillmann's correction of it has been adopted.

² 'Openly.' This sense can only be justified, if we follow the reading of LXX., Syr., Onkelos. But the text, which is confused, seems to need further emendation.

³ 'Not so.' Read 'al nā' for 'El nā.'

⁴ xiii. 17^b-xiv. 45. From Kadesh Moses sends spies into the Negeb or southern district of Canaan. They go as far as Hebron, a few miles south of Jerusalem, and bring back grapes and pomegranates as proof of the fertility of the soil. But they also report that the inhabitants are numerous, and of giant stature, so that Israel cannot hope to overcome them. Caleb alone encourages the people. Yahweh in his anger bids the people return towards

Negeb, and go up into the mountain district: 18. and see the land what it is, and the people that dwells there, whether they be strong or weak, whether they be few or many: 19. and what the land is that they dwell in, whether it be good or bad; and what cities they are that they dwell in, whether in camps or in strongholds; 20. and what the land is, whether it be fat or lean, whether there be wood in it or not. And take courage and bring of the fruit of the land.' Now the time was the time of the first ripe grapes. 22. So they went up into the Negeb and came to¹ Hebron. And Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmi, the children of Anak, were there. Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt.² 23. And they came to the torrent-bed of Eshcol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes and carried it on a pole between two: [they brought] also some of the pomegranates and the figs. 24. That place was

the Red Sea. They repent, and attack the Canaanites, but the ark of Yahweh is not with them, and they are defeated. Afterwards the brave Caleb wins Hebron, and conquers the gigantic foes of whom the other spies had been so much afraid. (Judges i. 10, 20; Josh. xv. 13; comp. Num. xiii. 23.)

Attempts have been made to separate the component documents, especially by Wellhausen, Dillmann, Koster (*Historie-beschouwing van den Deut.*, p. 40, *seq.*), and Meyer (*Z. A. T.* for 1881, p. 139 *seq.*). But the task seems to be hopeless, and there is nothing like agreement as to results. The following points, however, seem to be clearly established, and with respect to these there is general agreement—(1) The narrative cannot be from one hand. The repetitions, *e.g.*, in 17^b-20 prove this. At the same time each narrator must have told almost exactly the same story in similar words. Possibly one narrator may have made the spies go to Eshcol, another to Hebron, but for more important differences (*e.g.*, for the supposition of Dillmann and Kittel that the Jahvist made Joshua one of the spies) there is no evidence or even probability. (2) The vocabulary is on the whole that of the Elohist. (3) The dialogue between Yahweh and Moses, xiv. 11-25, is a later addition to the original narrative. Observe the citation from Exod. xxxiv. 6, and the formal reflection on the character of Yahweh, just as in the interpolated section in Genesis xvii. 17-33. See note there.

¹ Heb. 'he came,' but all ancient versions except Onkel. have the plural.

² 'Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt.' The origin of the statement is puzzling. Tanis, or Zoan, on the east borders of Lower Egypt, must have been founded long before the time of the Hyksos, for its existence is testified by monuments of the sixth and twelfth dynasty. (*Brugsch. Gesch. Egypt.*, p. 94, p. 132.)

called the torrent-bed of Eshcol because of the cluster which the children of Israel cut down from thence. 26.^{b1} [And they went] to Kadesh and brought them back word, and showed them the fruit of the land. 27. And they told him and said, 'We came into the land whither thou didst send us, and certainly it flows with milk and honey, and this is the fruit of it. 28. Howbeit the people that dwell in the land are strong, and the cities are fortified and very great; and moreover, we saw the children of Anak there. 29. Amalek dwells in the land of the Negeb, and the Hittite and the Jebusite and the Amorite dwell in the mountain district, and the Canaanite dwells by the sea and along the side of the Jordan.' 30. And Caleb stilled the people before Moses and said, 'Let us go up at once and possess it, for we are well able to overcome it.' 31. But the men that went up with him said, 'We are not able to go up against the people, for they are stronger than we; 32.^b and all the people that we saw in it are men of great stature. 33. And there we saw the Nephilim, the sons of Anak who come of the Nephilim; and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight.' XIV. 1.^b And the people wept that night, 2. [and said], 'Would that we had died in the land of Egypt! or would that we had died in this wilderness!' 4. And they said to one another, 'Let us appoint one to be head, and let us return to Egypt. 8. [And Caleb said], 'If Yahweh is pleased with us, he will bring us to this land and give it us, a land which flows with milk and honey. 9. Only rebel not against Yahweh, neither fear you the people of the land, for they are our bread: their shadow has departed from them and Yahweh is with us: fear them not.'

11. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'How long will this people despise me, and how long will they not believe in me for all the signs which I have done among them? 12. I will smite them with the pestilence and disinherit them, and I will make of thee

¹ 26. The text gives the fragments of this verse which belong to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.'

a nation greater and mightier than they.' 13. And Moses said to Yahweh, 'But the Egyptians will hear it, because thou didst bring up this people in thy might from among them ; 14.² nay, all the inhabitants of this land have heard that thou, Yahweh, art in the midst of this people ; for thou, Yahweh, art one who has been seen eye to eye, and thy cloud stands over them, and thou goest before them in a pillar of cloud by day, and in a pillar of fire by night. 15. Now, if thou shalt kill this people as one man, then the nations which have heard the fame of thee will speak, saying, 16. "Because Yahweh was not able to bring this people to the land, which he sware to them, therefore he slew them in the wilderness." 17. And now, I pray thee, let the power of my Lord be great, according as thou hast spoken, saying, 18. "Yahweh is slow to anger and plenteous in mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression, and that will not let [the guilty] go wholly free, visiting the iniquity of the fathers on the children to the third and to the fourth generation." 19. Pardon, I pray thee, the iniquity of this people according to the greatness of thy mercy, and according as thou hast forgiven this people from Egypt until now.' 20. And Yahweh said, 'I have pardoned according to thy word. 21. But as surely as I live, and as surely as the whole earth will be filled with my glory, 22. so surely none of the men who saw my glory and my signs which I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, and yet have tempted me these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice, 23. shall see the land which I sware to their fathers, neither shall any of them that despised me see it ; 24. but my servant Caleb, because he had another spirit and has followed me fully—him will I bring to the land to which he came and his seed shall possess it. 25. Now, the Amalekite and the Canaanite dwell in the valley : to-morrow turn and get you into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea.' 39. And Moses told these words to all the children of Israel and the people mourned greatly. 40. And early in the morning they

¹ 14. The construction is involved, and the translation given uncertain.

went up to the top of the mountain, saying, 'Behold, we are here, ready to go up to the place that Yahweh has promised ; for we have sinned.' 41. And Moses said, 'Why now do you transgress the commandment of Yahweh, seeing it shall not prosper? 42. Go not up, for Yahweh is not among you, that you be not struck down before your enemies. 43. For there the Amalekite and the Canaanite are before you, and you shall fall by the sword, forasmuch as you have turned back from following Yahweh : therefore Yahweh will not be with you.' 44. But they presumed to go up to the top of the mountain : nevertheless the ark of the covenant of Yahweh and Moses did not move from the camp. 45. Then the Amalekite came down and the Canaanite who dwelt in the mountain, and smote them and beat them down as far as Hormah.

XVI. 1.¹ Now there rose up Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, son of Pallu, son of Reuben, 2. men of renown, under the eyes of Moses. 12. And Moses sent to call Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and they said, 'We will not come up. 13. Is it a small thing that thou hast brought us up out of a land

¹ xvi. 1-34. Dathan and Abiram, both Reubenites, rebel against the secular authority of Moses. The earth opens and swallows them up with all that is theirs. The narrative is clear and consistent. Kuenen attributes the narrative to the Elohist, and it undoubtedly presents close resemblances to his style, but there are, as Kuenen admits, traces of another hand. Here and there also there is some difficulty in separating the narrative before us from that of the 'Priestly Writer,' to which it is united. Verse 1 is corrupt. We have the verb 'took' without any object to follow it, so that the sentence is unintelligible. The emendation 'arose' is generally accepted. In the same verse On is mentioned, though nothing is said of him in the sequel. The emendation of Graf (*Gesch. Bücher.*, p. 89). viz. : 'Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, son of Pallu' (comp. Gen. xvi. 9 ; Ex. vi. 14 ; Num. xxvi. 5, 8 ; 1 Chron. v. 3) is followed by most critics, and is given in the text. In vv. 1, 2, I have followed Nöldeke in determining the precise words which belong to our narrative, and in ver. 26 I have substituted 'children of Israel' for 'congregation.' The latter word is characteristic of the 'Priestly Writer,' and its presence in this verse must be due to the final editor of the Pentateuch. Making allowance for a few doubtful words, the text undoubtedly gives the story as told in the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' and read by the author of Deut. xi. 6.

flowing with milk and honey to kill us in the wilderness, but thou must also make thyself a prince over us? 14. Moreover, thou hast not brought us into a land flowing with milk and honey, nor given us inheritance of fields and vineyards. Wilt thou put out the eyes of these men? We will not come up.' 15.^b [And Moses said], 'I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them.' 25. And Moses rose up and went to Dathan and Abiram, and the elders of Israel followed him. 26. And he spoke to the [children of Israel], saying, 'Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men and touch nothing of theirs, lest you be swept away because of all their sins.' 27.^b And Dathan and Abiram came out and stood at the door of their tents, with their wives and their sons and their little ones. 28. And Moses said, 'Hereby shall you know that Yahweh has sent me to do all these works, that [I have] not [done them] out of my own mind. 29. If these men die the common death of all men, or if they be visited after the visitation of all men, then Yahweh has not sent me. 30. But if Yahweh create a new thing and the ground open its mouth and swallow them up and all that they have, and they go down alive into Sheol, then you shall know that these men have despised Yahweh.' 31. And it came to pass, as he made an end of speaking all these words, that the ground was cleft under them. 32^a. And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them and their households. 33. And they and all that they had went down alive into Sheol, and the earth closed upon them. 34. And all Israel that were round about them fled at the cry of them, for they said, 'Lest the earth swallow us up.'

XX.¹ 1^b. And the people abode in Kadesh, and Miriam died there, and was buried there. 3^a. And the people strove

¹ xx. 1-13. Here we have one of the few instances in which the documents of the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' have been inextricably entangled, not, as is often the case, with each other, but with the narrative of the 'Priestly Writer.' Both narratives have suffered in the process, and we can only guess at their full meaning. Apparently the earlier narrator's story ran thus. The people murmured at Kadesh for want of water. Moses,

with Moses, and said, 4. 'Why hast thou brought the assembly of Yahweh into this wilderness, that we should die there, we and our cattle? 5. And why hast thou made us come up out of Egypt, to bring us into this evil place? It is no place of seed, or of vines, or of pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink.' 7. And Yahweh spoke to Moses, saying, 8. 'Take [thy] staff and assemble [the people], and bring forth water for them from the rock and give the [people] and their cattle drink.' 10^b. And he said to them, 'Hear now, ye rebels; shall I bring you forth water out of this rock?' 11. And Moses lifted up his hand and struck the rock with his rod, and water came forth abundantly, and the [people] drank and their cattle. 13. These are the waters of Meribah, because the children of Israel strove with Yahweh, and he showed himself holy among them.

14.¹ *And Moses sent messengers from Kadesh to the king of Edom, 'Thus says thy brother Israel: "Thou knowest all the travail that has befallen us: 15. how our fathers went down to Egypt, and we dwelt in Egypt a long time, and the Egyptians treated us and our fathers ill: 16. and when we cried to Yahweh, he heard our voice and sent an angel and brought us forth out of Egypt, and behold, we are in Kadesh, a city at the edge of thy*

at the bidding of Yahweh, struck the rock with his rod and supplied their want. This story has been mixed up with another in which the people murmur against Moses and Aaron, and in which the latter, in some way which cannot be clearly ascertained, offend Yahweh. The text is based on the careful analysis of Dillmann. It involves the change of a plural verb into the singular, in vv. 4, 5, besides the excision of the word 'congregation,' which has been borrowed by the final editor from the 'Priestly Writer.' The 'rod of Moses,' and the language on the whole, point to the Elohist. In that case he must have adopted two variants of the same legend, one here, the other in Exod. xvii. 3-6, just as, e.g., St. Mark, the earliest evangelist, gives two variants of the miraculous feeding of the multitude by Jesus.

¹ 14-21. The linguistic arguments for assigning this § to the Elohist are decisive (see Dillmann, or Kuenen, *Onderz.* i. § 8, 14); and the opinion of Wellhausen that it was written by the Jahvist, may already be considered antiquated. Possibly, however, the final words of verse 20 may be from the Jahvist.

territory: 17. let us pass, I pray thee, through thy land: we will not pass through field or vineyard, neither will we drink of the water of the wells: we will go along the king's way, we will not turn aside to the right nor to the left, until we pass beyond thy territory.' 18. And Edom said to him, 'Thou shalt not pass through me, lest I go out with the sword to meet thee.' 19. And the children of Israel said to him, 'We will go up by the high way, and if we drink thy water, I and my cattle, then will I give the price of it: only—it is no [great] matter, let me pass through on my feet.' 20. And he said, 'Thou shalt not pass through:' and Edom went out to meet him with a numerous people and with a strong hand. 21. Thus Edom refused to let Israel pass through his territory, and Israel turned away from him.

XXI. 1.¹ Now the Canaanite the king of Arad, who dwelt in the Negeb, heard that Israel came by the way of Atharim, and he fought against Israel and took some of them captive. 2. Then Israel vowed a vow to Yahweh, and said, 'If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then will I put their cities under the ban.' 3. And Yahweh listened to the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites into their hand,² and they put them and their cities under the ban, and the name of the place was called Hormah [*i.e.* under the ban].

4. *And they made a journey by the way of the Red Sea to go round the land of Edom,³ and the soul of the people was impatient*

¹ xxi. 1-3. Assigned with practical unanimity to the Jahvist. It is he who uses 'Canaanite' as a general name for the earlier inhabitants of Palestine (*e.g.*, Gen. xii. 6; xxiv. 3, 37; xxxiv. 30; xxxviii. 2), while the Elohist uses the term 'Amorite' (Gen. xlviii. 22). Besides, the Elohist has already, in Num. xiv. 45, mentioned Hormah as a name in use. The Jahvist on the contrary implies that the name arose from the incident given here.

² 'Into their land.' So LXX. Sam. Syr.

³ 'To go round the land of Edom,' *i.e.* because they were not allowed to march through it. This § therefore, *i.e.* 4-9, is immediately connected with xx. 14-21 (see especially 21). Now as we have in this latter § further instances of Elohist language (*e.g.* 'Elohim' in ver. 5) our conclusions (1) that xx. 14-21 is, (2) that xxi. 1-3, which violently breaks the thread of narrative, is not Elohist, are confirmed.

because of the way. 5. *And the people spoke against God and against Moses, 'Why have you brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? For there is no bread and no water; and our soul loathes this light bread.'* 6. *And Yahweh sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people, and much people of Israel died.* 7. *And the people came to Moses and said, 'We have sinned, because we have spoken against Yahweh and against thee: pray to Yahweh that he may take away the serpents from us.'* *And Moses prayed for the people.* 8. *And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it up on a standard, and it shall come to pass, that every one who is bitten, when he sees it, shall live.* 9. *And Moses made a serpent of brass, and set it on the standard; and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he looked to the serpent of brass,¹ he lived.*

12.² *From thence they journeyed and encamped in the torrent bed of Zered.*

13. *From thence they journeyed and encamped on the other side of the Arnon that is in the wilderness, which springs from the territory of the Amorite, for the Arnon is the boundary of Moab, between*

¹ 'The serpent of brass.' The serpent, partly because it casts its skin, and so seems to renew its youth, was taken as a symbol of health, and worshipped among Egyptians and Greeks. It was also worshipped, possibly under the same aspect, by Phœnicians, Babylonians, and Assyrians (Baudiss. *Studien*, i. p. 258 *seq.*). Further, it was worshipped in Judah and apparently from very ancient times (2 Kings xviii. 4). Just as the Book before us endeavours to render the old Canaanite shrines harmless not by abolishing them, but by connecting them with Hebrew monotheism, so here with the old serpent-worship. The brazen serpent is no longer an object of worship. It represents Yahweh's power to make evil as harmless as the brazen image, it reminds the dying Israelite of his sin and its penalty, and then Yahweh gives him life.

² xxi. 12-32. The § 21-30 must be by the same hand as xx. 14-21, the resemblance of style and structure being so obvious that they cannot be missed even in an English version. The account, therefore, of Israel's embassy to and defeat of Sihon, xxi. 21-30, must be by the Elohist, who, as we saw above, narrated the embassy to Edom, xx. 14-21. Further, the list of stations, xxi. 12-20, prepares the way for the incursion into Sihon's territory, and both §§ quote old poems in a manner closely similar. It is true that Israel entered Sihon's territory the moment he crossed the Arnon, whereas

Moab and the Amorites. 14. *Therefore it is said in the book of the 'Wars of Yahweh,' [We passed]*

'Waheb in Suphah, and the torrents [that feed] the Arnon,

15. *And the slope of the torrent beds that inclines towards the site of Ar,*

And leans on the border of Moab.'

16. *And from thence to Beer: that is the well of which Yahweh said to Moses, 'Gather the people together and I will give them water.'* 17. *Then Israel sang this song—*

'Spring up, O well: sing ye to it,

18. *The well which the princes dug, the nobles of the people delved, With the sceptre, with their staves.'*¹

*And from Beer*² *to Mattanah: 19. and from Mattanah to Nahaliel: and from Nahaliel to Bamoth: 20. and from Bamoth to the ravine that is in the field of Moab, on the top of Pisgah, which looks down on the desert.*

21. *And Israel sent messengers to Sihon, king of the Amorites, saying, 22. 'Let me pass through thy land: we will not turn aside into field or vineyard; we will not drink of the water of the wells; we will go by the king's way until we have passed thy border.'* 23. *And Sihon would not suffer Israel to pass through his territory, but Sihon gathered all his people together, and went out to meet Israel in the wilderness, and came to Jahaz and fought against Israel. 24. And Israel smote him with the edge of the sword, and possessed his land from Arnon to Jabbok, [and] as far as the children of Ammon, for Jazer*³ *was the boundary of the children of Ammon. 25. And Israel took all these cities, and*

the list of stations from 18^b onwards places us north of that river. But the Elohist was probably copying from an older document, and might very well finish the list of places which he extracted from it, returning afterwards to the conquest of Sihon. So Kuenen followed as regards 12-30 by Kittel. Dillmann assigns only xxi. 12-18^a, 21-24 to the Elohist.

¹ 'With their staves.' The princes, holding their sceptres, superintended the digging. They did not dig the well with their sceptres and staves, for a spring so near the ground that it could be thus dug would yield little water.

² 'From Beer.' So LXX.

³ Jazer. So LXX.

Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon and all its dependencies. 26. For Heshbon was the city of Sihon, king of the Amorites, who had fought against the former king of Moab, and had taken all his land out of his hand, as far as Arnon. 27. Therefore the mocking poets¹ say—

'Come ye to Heshbon,

Let the city of Sihon be built up and established :

28. *For a fire is gone out of Heshbon,*

A flame from the city of Sihon.

It has devoured Ar of Moab,

The lords of the heights by the Arnon.

29. *Woe to thee, Moab !*

Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh :

He has given his sons as fugitives,

And his daughters to captivity,

To Sihon, king of the Amorites.

30. *And we shot at them ; Heshbon is perished even to Dibon.*

¹ 'The mocking poets.' Māshāl, is either a didactic or a satirical poem (Mic. ii. 4, Hab. ii. 6, Isaiah xiv. 4) ; here of course the latter. The poem itself is taken from the 'Book of the Wars of Yahweh,' but of this book we know nothing. Sihon also is mentioned only here and in other passages such, e.g. as Judges xi. 13, 1 Kings iv. 19, which are based on the narrative before us. Probably Sihon was a Moabite king. We know from Mesha's stone how hard Israelites and Moabites fought in the ninth century B.C., and if we omit the words 'To Sihon, king of the Amorites,' in ver. 29, the song may be taken as a song of the triumphant Israelites who have pressed in from the north and devastated Moab. In this way the poem becomes consistent and intelligible. The Israelites have set fire to the Moabite city Heshbon, thence the ruin has spread over the whole country. Chemosh the Moabite god has abandoned his children, and the Israelites invite each other to build up Heshbon once more, now that they have made it their own. The devastation passes from Heshbon on the north of the Arnon to Dibon, and Ar Moab on the south of it ; so that the song really contradicts the Elohist's account, according to which the Israelites, under Moses, attacked Sihon from the south. While, however, the Elohist transferred events which may have happened in the ninth century B.C. to the Mosaic period, he need not be held responsible for the additional fiction that Sihon won his territory north of the Arnon from the Moabites. The Elohist placed the Amorites (with him a general term, the equivalent of 'Canaanite' in the Jahvist) not only west but also east of the Jordan ; and ver. 26, which has the appearance of a gloss,

*And we laid waste as far as Nophah,
With fire¹ to Medeba.*

31. *Thus Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites.* 32. *And Moses sent to spy out Jazer, and they took its dependencies and drove out the Amorites that were there.* 33.² And they turned and went up in the direction of Bashan, and Og king of Bashan went out to meet them, he and all his people to battle at Edrei. 34. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Fear him not, for I have delivered him into thy hand, and all his people and his land, and thou shalt do to him as thou didst to Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon.' 35. So they smote him and his sons and all his people, till they left him none remaining, and they possessed his land.

XXII. 2.³ *Now Balak the son of Zippor saw all that Israel had done to the Amorites.* 3. And Moab was sore afraid of the people because they were many, *and Moab was distressed because*

may be an attempt to reconcile this with the general and correct view, that for time out of memory the territory north of Arnon had been Moabite, so far as it was not Israelite. See, for the view taken here, Meyer, *Z.A.T.*, 1881, p. 118 *seq.*; Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* p. 117 *seq.* and, on the other side, Kuenen, *Theol. Tijd.* xviii. p. 479 (answered by Meyer, *Z.A.T.* 1885, p. 36 *seq.*) Onderz., i. § 13, 13; Dillmann, *ad loc.*

¹ 'Fire.' Text, which here and in the preceding line is very uncertain, amended from LXX.

² 32-35. This § (conquest of Og, king of Bashan) is admittedly a late interpolation. It was unknown to the author of xxii. 2, differs in grammatical structure from the preceding verses, and is meant to round off the legends of the conquest east of Jordan. Dillmann even supposes that this § may have been interpolated from Deut. iii. 1-3, in which case it would of course form no part of the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.'

³ xxii. 2-xxiv. 25. The prophecies of Balaam. In xxii. 2-20, Balak, king of Moab, sends messengers to Balaam, who lived at Pethor on the Upper Euphrates, that he may come and curse Israel. Balaam refuses, being told to do so by God. A second embassy is sent to him, and this time God appears in a vision by night and tells Balaam to go, but only to speak the words which God puts in his mouth. Accordingly, Balaam sets out accompanied by the princes of Moab. So far all is consistent. But in 22-34 we have the episode of the speaking ass, which contradicts the previous story. Here we find Balaam accompanied, not by the princes of Moab, but simply by two attendants. Instead of consenting to his journey, the angel of

of the children of Israel. 4. And Moab said to the elders of Midian,¹ 'Now shall this multitude² lick up all that is round about us, as the ox licks up the grass of the field.' Now Balak, the son of Zippor, was king of Moab at that time. 5. *And he sent messengers to Balaam the son of Beor, to Pethor, which is by the river* [Euphrates], to the land of the children of Ammon,³ to call him, saying, 'Behold, there is a people come out from Egypt: behold, they cover the face of the earth, and they abide over against me. 6. And now, pray, come, curse me this people, since they are too mighty for me: perhaps I may prevail, that we may smile

Yahweh meets him with a drawn sword and would have slain him, had not Balaam's ass seen the apparition and insisted on avoiding it. Balaam confesses his sin and receives leave to go with the direction to speak only according to the inspiration of Yahweh, which, according to the other narrator, he had received before setting out at all. Further, in 2-21 the narrator, when he is not quoting the words of others, habitually speaks of Elohim, while the author who tells the story of the speaking ass habitually speaks of Yahweh. The § 2-21 must belong substantially to the Elohist, 22-35 to the Jahvist. The correctness of this division is confirmed by the fact that ver. 36 is the immediate and natural sequel of ver. 20. Thus the Elohist document is continued in xxii. 36-41 and xxiii. 1-26. Throughout we have the word Elohim in the narrative as distinct from the speeches. Moreover, an examination of the authorities for the text makes it highly probable that originally the name Elohim was used in the speeches also, the name Yahweh being substituted to remove any doubt as to the source of Balaam's inspiration. We have also the 'princes of Moab,' as in the earliest part of the Elohist document. Dillmann and Kittel find the continuation of the Jahvist narrative in xxiv. 1-19, containing the third and fourth prophecies of Balaam, which have special reference to Judah. But here no decisive evidence presents itself. If Dillmann be right, then xxii. 18, to which there is a distinct reference in xxiv. 13, must also be by the Jahvist. Elsewhere in the Elohist document there are clear signs of interpolation. In ver. 3, for example, the same thing is said twice over, and the end of ver. 4 conveys the impression that Balak had not been mentioned before.

¹ 'Elders of Midian.' According to Dillmann the mention of the Midianites here and in ver. 7 comes from the Jahvist. According to Wellhausen and Kuenen, the words have been added by the final editor to reconcile the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' with the 'Priestly Writer.'

² 'This multitude.' So Sam., LXX., Syr.

³ 'Ammon.' So Sam., Syr., Vulg., and some Hebrew MSS. (The variation in the Hebrew text first occurs in a MS. of the thirteenth century, and is found in more than a dozen copies. See Kennicott, vol. ii., *Diss. Gen.* p. 77 note; De Rossi, vol. ii. p. 15.)

them, and drive them out of the land, for I know that he whom thou blessest is blest, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.' 7. And the elders of Moab and the elders of Midian departed with the rewards of divination in their hand, *and they came to Balaam and spoke to him the words of Balak.* 8. *And he said to them, 'Lodge here this night, and I will bring you word again, as Yahweh shall speak to me.'* And the princes of Moab abode with Balaam. 9. *And God came to Balaam and said, 'Who are these men with thee?'* 10. *And Balaam said to God, 'Balak son of Zippor, king of Moab, sent to me, [saying],* 11. *Behold, the people that is come out of Egypt covers the face of the earth: now, come curse me them: perhaps I shall be able to fight against them and to drive them out.'* 12. *And God said to Balaam, 'Thou shalt not go with them, thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed.'* 13. *And early in the morning Balaam said to the princes of Balak, 'Go away to your own land, for Yahweh has refused to let me go with you.'* 14. *And the princes of Moab rose up and went to Balak and said, 'Balaam has refused to go with us.'* 15. *And Balak sent once more princes more numerous and more honourable than the others.* 16. *And they came to Balaam and said to him, 'Thus says Balak son of Zippor, "Let nothing, I pray thee, hinder thee from coming to me: 17. for I will promote thee to very great honour, and all that thou sayest to me I will do: come, therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people."'* 18. And Balaam answered and said to the servants of Balak, 'If Balak were to give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of Yahweh my God, to do less or more, 19. *And now, I pray you, tarry ye also here this night, that I may know what more Yahweh will speak to me.'* 20. *And God came to Balaam at night and said to him, 'If the men are come to call thee, arise, go with them; but only the word that I shall speak to thee, that wilt thou do.'* 21. *And Balaam rose in the morning and saddled his ass, and he went with the princes of Moab.* 22. **And the anger of Yahweh¹ was kindled because he went,**

¹ 'Yahweh.' So Sam.

and the angel of Yahweh placed himself in the way for an adversary against him. Now he was riding on his ass, and his two servants were with him. 23. And the ass saw the angel of Yahweh standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand, and the ass turned aside out of the way and went into the field, and Balaam struck the ass, to turn her into the way. 24. Then the angel of Yahweh stood in a hollow way between the vineyards, a fence being on this side, and a fence on that. 25. And the ass saw the angel of Yahweh, and she thrust herself to the wall and crushed Balaam's foot against the wall; and he struck her again. 26. And the angel of Yahweh went further, and stood in a narrow place, where there was no room to turn either to the right hand or to the left. 27. And the ass saw the angel of Yahweh, and she lay down under Balaam, and Balaam's anger was kindled, and he smote the ass with his staff. 28. And Yahweh opened the mouth of the ass and she said to Balaam, 'What have I done to thee, that thou hast struck me these three times?' 29. And Balaam said to the ass, 'Because thou hast mocked me, I would there were a sword in my hand, for now I would have killed thee.' 30. And the ass said to Balaam, 'Am I not thine ass, on which thou hast ridden all thy life long to this day? Was I ever wont to do so to thee?' And he said, 'No.' 31. Then Yahweh opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of Yahweh standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand, and he bowed his head and fell on his face. 32. And the angel of Yahweh said to him, 'Why hast thou struck thine ass these three times? Behold, I am come out as an adversary, for thy way is evil¹ before me. 33. And the ass saw me and turned aside before me these three times: unless² she had turned aside from me,

¹ 'Is evil.' The Hebrew text may mean, 'Thy way is headlong against me.' But it is doubtful whether this or any other sense can be derived from it. The translation given is based on an emendation suggested by Sam.

² 'Unless.' Read 'lūlē,' 'unless,' for 'lūlai,' 'perhaps,' which is senseless.

surely now I had slain thee and left her alive.' 34. And Balaam said to the angel of Yahweh, 'I have sinned, for I did not know that thou stoodest in the way against me; and now, if it displease thee, I will get me back again.' 35. And the angel of Yahweh said to Balaam, 'Go with the men: but only the word that I shall speak to thee, that shalt thou speak.' And Balaam went with the princes of Balak. 36. *And Balak heard that Balaam had come, and he went out to meet him at Ir-Moab, which is on the border formed by the Arnon, at the furthest part of the border.* 37. *And Balak said to Balaam, 'Did I not earnestly send to thee to call thee? Why camest thou not to me? Am I not able indeed to promote thee to honour?'* 38. *And Balaam said to Balak, 'Lo, I am come to thee: have I now any power at all to speak anything? The word that God puts in my mouth, that will I speak.'* 39. *And Balaam went with Balak, and they came to Kiriath-huzoth.* 40. *And Balak sacrificed oxen and sheep, and he sent [portions] to Balaam and to the princes that were with him.* 41. *And it came to pass in the morning that Balak took Balaam and brought him up to Bamoth-baal, and thence he saw the [nearest] end of the people.*

XXIII. 1. *And Balaam said to Balak, 'Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven bullocks and seven rams.'* 2. *And Balak did as Balaam had spoken, and Balak and Balaam offered on every altar a bullock and a ram.* 3. *And Balaam said to Balak, 'Stand by the burnt-offering and I will go: perhaps God¹ will come to meet me, and whatever he shews me, I will tell thee.'* *And he went to a bare height,* 4. *and God met Balaam: and he said to him, 'I have prepared the seven altars, and I have offered up a bullock and a ram on every altar.* 5. *And God² put a word in Balaam's mouth and said, 'Return to Balak and thus shalt thou speak.'* 6. *And he returned, and lo, he stood by his burnt-offering, he and all the princes of Moab.* 7. *And he began his rhythm and said—*

¹ 'God.' So Sam., LXX.

² 'God.' So LXX.

*'From Aram has Balak brought me,
The king of Moab from the mountains of the East.
Come, Curse me Jacob,
And come, rage against Israel.*

8. *How shall I curse, whom Yahweh has not cursed?
And how shall I rage against him, with whom Yahweh is not
enraged?*
9. *For from the top of the rocks I see him,
And from the hills I behold him:
Lo, it is a people that dwells alone,
And does not reckon itself among the nations.*
10. *Who has counted the dust of Jacob,
Or numbered the fourth part of Israel?
Let me die the death of the upright,
And my posterity be like his.'*

11. *And Balak said to Balaam, 'What hast thou done to me?
I took thee to curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast blessed them
altogether.'* 12. *And he answered and said, 'Must I not take
heed to speak that which Yahweh puts in my mouth?'* 13. *And
Balak said to him, 'Come, I pray, with me to another place,
whence thou mayest see them: thou shalt see but the [nearest]
end of them, but the whole of them thou shalt not see:¹ and
curse me them from there.'* 14. *And he took him to the field of
Zophim, to the top of Pisgah, and built seven altars and offered up
a bullock and a ram on every altar.* 15. *And he said to Balak,
'Stand here by thy burnt-offering while I go to meet him there.'*
16. *And God² met Balaam and said, 'Return to Balak and thus*

¹ 'Thou shalt see but the [nearest] end of them,' etc. Before his first prophecy Balaam had only seen the fringe of the Israelite host. Now by changing his position to a place from which he can see the whole host, he hopes for better success in cursing them. But another writer in xxiv. 2 introduces a prophecy of Balaam with an account which gives the impression that Balaam is taking his first view of the people. Therefore an editor inserted a gloss to reconcile the Elohist with the author (probably the Jahvist) who gave the prophecies and the narrative connected with them in chapter xxiv. But in doing so he sets the Elohist at variance with himself.

² 'God.' So LXX. and some Hebrew MSS.

shalt thou speak.' 17. *And he came to him, and, lo, he stood by his burnt-offering, and the princes of Moab with him. And Balak said to him, 'What has Yahweh spoken?'* 18. *And he began his rhythm and said—*

*'Rise up, Balak, and hear,
Hearken to me, thou son of Zippor.*

19. *God is not a man, that he should lie,
Or the son of man, that he should repent.
He has said, and shall he not do,
Or has he spoken, and shall he not make it good?*

20. *Behold, I have received [commandment] to bless,
And I will bless,¹ and I will not reverse it.*

21. *No calamity is beheld in Jacob,
Or trouble seen in Israel.
Yahweh his God is with him,
And the shout of a king is among them.*

22. *God brings them forth out of Egypt,
He has, as it were, the horns of a wild ox ;*

23. *For there is no divination in Jacob,
Or sorcery in Israel,
At the due season it shall be said of Jacob and of Israel,
What has God wrought !*

24. *Behold, the people rises up as a lioness,
And as a lion does he lift himself up :
He shall not lie down till he devour the prey
And drink the blood of the slain.'*

25. *And Balak said to Balaam, 'Neither curse them at all nor bless them at all.'* 26. *But Balaam answered and said, 'Did I not tell thee, saying, All that God² speaks, that must I do?'* 27. *And Balak said to Balaam, 'Come now, I will take thee to another place ; perhaps, it will please God that thou mayest curse me them from thence.'* 28. *And Balak took Balaam to the top*

¹ 'I will bless.' So Sam., LXX., Onkel.

² 'God.' So Sam., LXX.

of Peor, which looks down on the desert. 29. And Balaam said to Balak, 'Build me here seven altars and prepare me seven bullocks and seven rams.' 30. And Balak did as Balaam had said, and offered up a bullock and a ram on every altar. XXIV. 1. And when Balaam saw that it was good in the eyes of Yahweh to bless Israel, he went not, as at the other times, after enchantments, but he set his face to the desert. 2. And Balaam lifted up his eyes and saw Israel dwelling according to their tribes, and the spirit of God¹ came upon him. 3. And he began his rhythm and said—

- 'The oracle of Balaam, the son of Beor,
And the oracle of the man whose eye is closed [?]:
4. The oracle of him who hears the words of God,
Who sees the vision of the Almighty,
Falling down and having his eyes open :
 5. How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob !
Thy tabernacles, O Israel !
 6. Like ravines which stretch out,
As gardens by the river-side,
As lign-aloes which Yahweh has planted,
As cedar-trees beside the waters.
 7. Waters flow from his buckets,
And his seed is on many waters :
And his king shall be higher than Agag,
And his kingdom shall be exalted.
 8. God brings him forth out of Egypt,
He has, as it were, the horns [?] of a wild ox :
He shall devour the nations his adversaries,
And shall crunch their bones ;
And he shall smite his oppressors² [?].
 9. He couched, he lay down, as a lion,

¹ 'Spirit of God,' i.e. 'a divine spirit. So that the word Elohim is here no mark of authorship. Comp. Exod. xxxi. 3, xxxv. 31 in the 'Priestly Writer.'

² 'Oppressors.' A conjectural emendation of the Hebrew text.

And as a lioness ; who shall raise him up ?
 Blessed is every one who blesses thee,
 And cursed is every one that curses thee.'

10. And Balak's anger was kindled against Balaam, and he struck his hands together, and Balak said to Balaam, 'I called thee to curse my enemies, and, behold, thou hast blessed them these three times. 11. Therefore now flee thee to thy place : I thought to promote thee to great honour, and, behold, Yahweh has kept thee back from honour.' 12. And Balaam said to Balak, 'Did I not speak also to thy messengers whom thou sentest to me, saying, 13. "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of Yahweh to do either good or bad of my own mind : what Yahweh speaks, that will I speak. 14. And now, behold, I go to my people : come, I will counsel thee concerning that which this people will do to thy people in the latter days"?' 15. And he began his rhythm and said—

- 'The oracle of Balaam, the son of Beor,
 And the oracle of the man whose eye is closed [?].
 16. The oracle of him who hears the words of God,
 And knows the knowledge of the exalted one,
 Who sees the vision of the Almighty,
 Falling down and having his eyes open.
 17. I see him, but not now,
 I descry him, but not near :
 A star has come forth from Jacob,
 And a sceptre has risen from Israel,
 And shall smite through the sides of Moab's face,
 And the head¹ of the sons of tumult,
 18. And Edom shall be a possession,
 And Seir, his [i.e. Israel's] foes, shall be a possession,
 And Israel wins might.

¹ 'Head,' properly 'back of the head.' So Sam. The author of Jerem. xlviii. 45 seems to have had this reading in his text.

19. And one shall rule from Jacob,
And destroy the remnant from the city.'
- 20.¹ And he saw Amalek, and he began his rhythm and said—
'Amalek is the first of nations,
But his latter end shall be destruction.'
21. And he saw the Kenite, and began his rhythm and said—
'Strong is thy dwelling-place,
And thy nest is set in the rock.
22. Nevertheless Kain shall be wasted.
How long? Assyria shall carry thee away captive.'
23. And he began his rhythm and said—
'Alas, who shall live, when God does this?
24. But ships [shall come] from the coast of Kittim,
And they shall afflict Assyria and shall afflict Eber,²
And he also shall come to destruction.'

25. And Balaam rose up and went and returned to his place,
and Balak also went his way.

XXV. 1. And Israel abode in Shittim, and the people began
to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab. 2. And they
called the people to the sacrifices of their god, and the people ate
and bowed down to their god. 3. And Israel joined himself to
Baal Peor, and the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel.
4. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Take all the chiefs of the people

¹ 20-24. It is generally admitted that these verses have been interpolated by a later hand. Hitherto we have had general description of Israel's glory and the splendour of David's dynasty; here we have three prophecies relating to Amalekites, Kenites, and Assyrians. The last prophecy enters most into detail. Cyprus (Kittim) had been subject to the Assyrian kings, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (*i.e.* in the seventh century B.C.); and the author expects that from this very quarter a fleet will come and land an army for the destruction of Assyria itself. The particular event to which he alludes is unknown. The Assyrian empire fell at the end of the seventh century B.C., and the author of the interpolated prophecies can scarcely have written long before this event. In his time the dependencies of Assyria seem to have been rising in revolt.

² Eber, probably not a proper name. The word means 'across,' *i.e.* the people across 'the river' [Euphrates].

and impale them¹ [?] for Yahweh before the sun, that the heat of Yahweh's anger may turn away from Israel.' 5. And Moses said to the judges of Israel, 'Slay ye every one his man, that have joined themselves to Baal Peor.'

XXXII. 1.² Now the children of Gad and Reuben had a very great multitude of cattle, and when they saw the land of Jazer and the land of Gilead that, behold, the place was a place for cattle, 2.^a the children of Gad and the children of Reuben came and spake to Moses, [saying], 3. 'Ataroth and Dibon and Jazer and Nimrah and Heshbon and Elealeh and Sebam and Nebo and Beon, 4.^b is a land for cattle, and thy servants have cattle.' 5. And they said, 'If we have found grace in thy sight, let this land be given to thy servants: bring us not over Jordan.' 20. And Moses said to them, 'If you will do this thing, if you will arm yourselves to go before Yahweh to the war, 21. and if every armed man of you will pass over Jordan before Yahweh, until he has driven out his enemies from before him, 22.^b then afterward you shall return and be guiltless towards Yahweh and

¹ 'Impale them.' 'Hanging, though a mode of suicide, was not a mode of execution in antiquity, either in the East or in the West.' See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. p. 222.

² xxxii. 1-41. A difficult chapter, because it supplies another of the few instances in which the final editor has mingled the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' with the 'Priestly' record. Still the main features of our narrative are quite distinct from those of the 'Priestly Writer.' It speaks of Gad and Reuben (not like the 'Priestly Writer' of Reuben and Gad). It knows nothing of Eleazar the priest or the half tribe of Manasseh (33). The 'Priestly Writer' describes Moses as simply bestowing the vacant territories of Sihon and Og on the two and a half tribes. The 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' on the contrary, has preserved genuine historical recollection. It represents Machir and Jair, sons of Manasseh, as conquering the northern territory west of the Jordan, nor does it say that this happened in the lifetime of Moses. The geographical notices of the territory occupied by Gad and Reuben differ from those of the 'Priestly Writer' in Josh. xiii. 15 *seq.*, and as, according to the 'Priestly Writer,' Machir was the only son of Manasseh (xxvi. 29 *seq.*), it cannot be he who makes 'the children of Machir' settle to the east of Jordan, for in this case he would have contradicted the notorious fact assumed by himself no less than by the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' viz., that the Manassites had settlements on both sides of the river. The account before us represents the settlements of the Israelites east of Jordan

Israel, and the land shall be yours before Yahweh. 23. But if you will not do so, behold, you have sinned against Yahweh, and be sure your sin will find you out. 24. Build yourselves cities for your little ones, and enclosures for your flocks, and do that which has proceeded out of your mouth.' 25. And the children of Gad and the children of Reuben spoke to Moses, saying, 'Thy servants will do, as my lord commands. 26. Our little ones, our wives, our flocks and all our cattle, shall be there in the cities of Gilead, 27. but thy servants will pass over, every man that is armed for war, before Yahweh to battle, as my lord says.'

34. So the children of Gad built Dibon and Ataroth and Aroer 35. and Atroth-Shophan and Jazer and Jogbehah 36. and Beth-nimrah and Beth-haran, fortified cities and enclosures for sheep. 37. And the children of Reuben built Heshbon and Elealeh and Kiriathaim, 38. and Nebo and Baal-Meon¹ and

in the time of the kings, perhaps from that of Solomon to that of Omri. Deborah's Song speaks of Gilead (*i.e.* Gad) and Reuben as settled east of the Jordan and Mesha's Stone (about 900 B.C.) states that Gad had 'dwelt from of old in the land of Ataroth.' On the other hand, Deborah's Song (Judges v. 14) speaks of Machir as still living west of the Jordan. Probably they went east of the Jordan, when Gad and Reuben were pressing south in the time of the early kings and extended their domain by conquest. But the statement that Gad, Reuben, and the Manassites assisted the other tribes in conquering the land west of Jordan, rests on the late fiction that Israel won Canaan in a single generation, and formed a national unity under Moses and Joshua.

In determining the text of the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' in this chapter, I have adopted the conclusions of Stade (*Gesch. Isr.* i. p. 148 *seq.*). With him Dillmann agrees on the whole, except that he adds 6-15, which is, as Kuenen has shown (*Theol. Tijd.* xi. p. 559 *seq.*), a late interpolation. Dillmann himself allows that it has been seriously tampered with. In ver. 1 I have restored 'Gad and Reuben' for 'Reuben and Gad,' and have removed expressions which have been admittedly interpolated by the final editor who borrowed the characteristic words and phrases of the 'Priestly Writer.' There must, of course, be considerable doubt as to the details. Verses 39, 41, 42 are almost certainly by the Jahvist, and should be read between Joshua xvii. 14-18, and xiii. 13. But 'Amorite' seems to have been substituted for 'Canaanite,' and the parentage of Nobah omitted.

¹ 'Nebo and Baal-Meon.' A late gloss is here added, viz., 'their names being changed.' This was meant to remove the scandal that 'Nebo' and 'Baal' are both names of gods. The scribe who showed such monotheistic zeal did not know that Gad also was a deity, viz., the god of luck, worshipped all over Syria. See Cheyne on Isaiah lxxv. 11, and Bähr, *Semit. Relig.* p. 76 *seq.*

Sibmah, and they gave other names to the cities which they built. 39. And the children of Machir the son of Manasseh, went to Gilead and took it, and dispossessed the Amorites which were in it. 41. And Jair the son of Manasseh went and took their tent-villages, and called them the tent-villages of Jair. 42. And Nobah¹ went and took Kenath and its dependencies, and called it Nobah, after his own name.

Deut. XXXI. 14.² And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Behold, the time draws near that thou shouldst die: call Joshua and present yourselves in the tent of meeting that I may give him a charge.' And Moses and Joshua went and presented themselves in the tent of meeting. 15. And Yahweh appeared in the tent in a pillar of cloud, and the pillar of cloud stood by the door of the tent. 16. And Yahweh said to Moses, 'Behold, thou shalt sleep with thy fathers and this people will rise up and go a whoring after the strange gods of the land, whither they go to be among them, and will forsake me and break my covenant which I have made with them. 17. Then my anger shall be kindled against them in that day, and I will forsake them and hide my face from them and they shall be devoured and many evils and troubles shall come upon them, so that they will say in that day, "Are not these evils come upon us, because our God is not in the midst of us?" 18. And I will surely hide my face because of all the evil

¹ Deut. xxxi. 14-23. It is clear, and has been pointed out long ago (see e.g., Knobel's commentary on the passage), that this section in the Book of Deuteronomy does not belong to the original structure of the book. The Deuteronomist, as Dillmann points out, never speaks of 'the tent of meeting,' 'the pillar of cloud,' 'breaking the covenant,' 'strange gods,' 'to go a whoring after,' 'imagination' (yaser), etc., and all these expressions are so many signs that we have the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' before us. The section has been compiled from two sources. Verses 14, 15, 23 refer to the appointment of Joshua in place of Moses. The intermediate verses are the introduction to the 'Song' in chap. xxxii. Hence the obscurity in ver. 23. The subject is evidently 'Yahweh,' and all is in order, if we read ver. 23 immediately after ver. 15. But in ver. 22 Moses is the subject, and when we come to read ver. 23 in its present position, we are obliged to supply a new subject in the most unnatural way.

they have done, in that they have turned to other gods. 19. And now write this song for yourselves, and teach thou it to the children of Israel: put it in their mouths, that this song may be a witness for me against the children of Israel. 20. For when I shall have brought them to the land which I swear to their fathers, flowing with milk and honey, and they shall have eaten and filled themselves and grown fat, then will they turn to other gods and serve them and despise me and break my covenant. 21. And it shall come to pass when many evils and troubles are come upon them, that this song shall testify before them as a witness; for it shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed; for I know their imagination which they go about even now, before I have brought them to the land which I swear to their fathers.¹ 22. So Moses wrote this song the same day and taught it to the children of Israel. 23. And he [Yahweh] commanded Joshua the son of Nun and said, 'Be strong and of good courage, for thou shalt bring the children of Israel to the land which I swear to them: and I will be with thee.'

XXXII. 1.² 'Give ear, ye heavens, and I will speak,

And let the earth hear the words of my mouth:

2. My doctrine shall drop as the rain,

My speech shall distil as the dew;

¹ 'To their fathers,' added from Sam., LXX.

² xxxii. 'The Song of Moses.' This poem depicts the calamities of the Hebrews under foreign invasion, which has reduced them to the point of extinction, but from which Yahweh promises them final deliverance. To what period does the poet refer? Three answers have to be considered. Dillmann attributes the poem to a poet of the northern kingdom who lived about the time of Elijah and Elisha, *i.e.* in the ninth century B.C., when Israel suffered much from the Aramæans of Damascus. Others (*e.g.* Reuss, *Gesch.* § 226) refer the poem to the period preceding the taking of Samaria by the Assyrians in B.C. 722. Lastly, Kuenen and others are inclined to believe that the foes intended are the Babylonians, in which case the poet must have written shortly before the final catastrophe of 586 B.C., which was the date of the exile. The strength of Kuenen's argument lies in his list of the words and phrases (*Onderz.* i. § 13, 30) which occur in the poem, but are never found even in writers of the eighth century B.C. In language and style the poem 'stands on one line with Jeremiah and Ezekiel.' This argument is

- As the small rain on the tender grass,
And as the showers upon the herb :
3. For I will proclaim the name of Yahweh,
Ascribe ye greatness to our God.
 4. The rock, his work is perfect,
For all his ways are judgment :
A God of faithfulness and without iniquity,
Just and right is he.
 5. His sons have become corrupt, a blot is upon them¹ [?],
They are a perverse and crooked generation.
 6. Do you thus requite Yahweh,
O foolish people and unwise?
Is he not thy father that has made thee ?
He has made thee and established thee.
 7. Remember the days of old,
Consider the years of many generations :
Ask thy father and he will show thee,
Thine elders and they will tell thee.
 8. When the exalted one gave to the nations their inheritance,
When he separated the children of men,
He set the boundaries of the peoples,
According to the number of the children of Israel,²

not met by Dillmann: indeed he unconsciously confirms it. He admits, *e.g.* that 'zarim' in ver. 16 for 'strange gods' is only found in late writers, such as Jeremiah and the second Isaiah, that it is only late writers such as Jeremiah who call heathen gods 'vain things' (*h'valim*, so ver. 21), or use the singular form 'Eloah' for God (ver. 15). Add to this the formal and explicit monotheism, and the fact that the annihilation of Israel's life seems to be imminent, unless Yahweh interpose, so that the whole language suggests a worse and more complete calamity than even the conquest of the northern kingdom by the Assyrians. We cannot wonder, then, that even Kittel, usually the faithful adherent of Dillmann, abandons him here. But if Kuenen be right, we must suppose that our 'Oldest Book of Hebrew,' though compiled from ancient documents, did not exist as a completed whole till shortly before the exile.

¹ 'A blot is upon them.' So Dillmann emends the text.

² 'According to the number of the children of Israel,' *i.e.* Yahweh allotted their territories to the nations in such a manner that the fit place should be

9. For Yahweh's portion is his people,
Jacob is the lot of his inheritance.
10. He found him in a land that was wilderness,
In a waste howling desert :
He compassed him about, he cared for him,
He kept him as the apple of his eye.
11. As an eagle that stirs up its nest,
That flutters over its young,
He spread abroad his wings, he took them,
He bore them on his pinions.
12. Yahweh alone did lead him,
And there was no strange god with him.
13. He made him ride on the high places of the land,
And made him eat ¹ the increase of the field,
And made him suck honey from the rock,
And oil out of the flinty rock ;
14. Curdled milk from the herds, and fresh milk from the flocks,
With fat of lambs and rams,
The breed of Bashan and goats,
With the fat of the kidneys of wheat,
And the blood of the grape didst thou drink as wine.
15. Then Jacob ate and was filled,²
Jeshurun ³ grew fat and kicked ;

reserved for Israel. The LXX. reading, 'according to the number of the sons of God,' implies that God committed the nations to the angels, and himself retained the care of Israel. But this idea of angel guardians presiding over the nations is late (Sit. xvii. 17 ; Dan. x. 13, 20 *seq.*), 'and is inconsistent' with the contemptuous attitude of the 'Song' to heathen gods.

¹ 'Made him eat.' So Sam., LXX., Syr.

² 'Jacob ate and was filled.' So Sam., LXX.

³ 'Jeshurun,' 'the upright one,' a name given to Israel, here, in the 'Blessing of Moses' (Deut. xxxiii. 5, 26), and in the second Isaiah (xliv. 2). Possibly, as Bacher (*Z.A.T.W.*, vol. v. p. 161 *seq.*) suggests, the name may have been chosen as an escape from the unpleasant idea conveyed by the name Jacob. 'Jacob' is connected with the idea of 'supplanting' (Gen. xxvii. 36), Jeshurun with that of 'the upright,' 'the straight,' 'the honest.' In Isa. xl. 4 the two roots are expressly contrasted.

- Thou wert grown fat and thick and sleek ;
And he forsook God who made him,
And dishonoured the rock of his salvation.
16. They provoked him to jealousy with strange gods,
Vexed him with abominations.
17. They sacrificed to demons, which were no god,
To gods whom they knew not,
To new gods that came up of late,
Whom their fathers dreaded not.
18. The rock that begot thee thou didst neglect,
And forget the God that gave thee birth.
19. And Yahweh saw it and abhorred them
Because of the provocation of his sons and daughters.
20. And he said, I will hide my face from them,
I will see what their end shall be,
For they are a perverse generation,
Children in whom is no faithfulness.
21. They have made me jealous with that which is not god,
They have vexed me with their vanities ;
And I will make them jealous with that which is not a people,
With a foolish nation will I vex them.
22. For a fire is kindled in my nose,
And it burns to the nethermost Sheol,
And devours the earth with her increase,
And sets the foundations of the mountains aflame.
23. I will heap mischiefs upon them,
I will spend my arrows upon them ;
24. [When they are] wasted with hunger and consumed with
burning heat,
And with bitter plague,
The teeth of beasts I will send upon them,
With the venom of things that crawl in the dust.
25. Without shall the sword bereave,
And in the chambers terror ;
[It shall destroy] both young man and virgin,

The suckling with the grey-haired man.

26. I would say, I will blow them away,
I would make the remembrance of them cease from among
men,
27. Were it not that I feared the provocation of the enemy,
Lest their adversaries should misunderstand ;
Lest they should say, Our hand has been exalted,
And it is not Yahweh who has done all this.
28. For they are a nation void of counsel,
And there is no understanding in them ;
29. If they had been wise, they would understand this,
They would think of their end.
30. How should one chase a thousand,
And two put ten thousand to flight,
Except their rock had sold them,
And Yahweh delivered them up !
31. For their rock is not as our rock,
Even our enemies [themselves] being judges.
32. For their vine is from the vine of Sodom,
From the fields of Gomorrah ;
Their grapes are poisonous grapes,
Clusters of gall are theirs,
33. Their wine is the venom of dragons
And the cruel poison of asps.
34. Is not this laid up in store with me,
Sealed up in my treasures,
35. For the day of vengeance and recompence,
For the time when their foot shall slide ?
For the day of their calamity is near,
And the things that are to come upon them make haste.
36. For Yahweh will decide for his people,
And will repent concerning his servants
When he sees that their power is gone,
And there is none over, shut up or left at large.
37. And he shall say, Where are their gods,

- The rock in which they took refuge,
 38. Who ate the fat of their sacrifices,
 And drank the wine of their drink-offering?
 Let them rise up and help you,
 Let them be your protection.
39. See now that I, I am he,
 And there is no God with me;
 I kill, and I make alive,
 I have wounded, and I will heal:
 And none can deliver from my hand.
40. For I lift up my hand to the heavens,
 And say, As I live for ever,
41. If I whet my gleaming sword,
 And my hand take hold of judgment,
 I will render vengeance to my adversaries,
 And will recompense them that hate me.
42. I will make my arrows drunk with blood,
 And my sword shall devour flesh;
 With the blood of the slain and the captives,
 From the head of the leaders of the enemy.
43. Praise his people, ye nations,
 For he will avenge the blood of his servants,
 And will make expiation for the land of his people.¹
44. And Moses came and spoke all the words of this song in
 the ears of the people, he and Joshua ² the son of Nun.
- XXXIII.³ 1. And this is the blessing, with which Moses the

¹ 'The land of his people.' So Sam., LXX., Vulgate.

² 'He and Joshua the son of Nun.' This is a late, possibly a very late, interpolation. According to xxxi. 22, Moses alone writes and teaches the song. In xxxi. 19 Dillmann supposes that 'write for yourselves' has been substituted instead of 'write for thyself.'

³ xxxiii. 'The Blessing of Moses.' It is plain (1) that this poem was written after the separation of Judah from the northern kingdom. The poet prays (ver. 7) that Judah may be brought back to his people, which implies the complete union of the tribes under David and Solomon, and their subsequent separation under Jeroboam and Rehoboam. (2) It is no less plain that the poet belonged to the northern kingdom. This appears from

man of God blessed the children of Israel, before his death. 2.

And he said—

‘Yahweh came from Sinai,
And rose from Seir upon them,
He shone forth from the mountains of Paran,
And he came from Meribah of Kadesh [?]¹
At his right hand were²

3. Yea, he loves his people;³
All his holy ones are in thy hand :
And they sat down [?] at thy feet ;
[Every one of them] receives of thy words,

the words already quoted. Judah is to ‘come’ to the people, not the people to him. The poet says little of Judah, nothing of Simeon. It is of the north tribes, and particularly of Joseph, ‘the prince among his brethren,’ that he speaks at length and with enthusiasm. (3) The poet must have written long before the final exile, long even before the capture of Samaria in 722 B.C. The ‘myriads of Ephraim,’ ‘the thousands of Manasseh’ dwell in peace and plenty, and all Israel is ‘victorious through Yahweh.’ It is more difficult to fix the exact date. Schrader (in his edition of De Wette’s *Einleitung*, § 234) pleads for the period shortly after the separation of the two kingdoms (975-950 B.C.), and his opinion is followed by Dillmann. The reason given is, that the desire for restoration of unity was still vigorous. This argument, however, is too weak to be of any account, for such passages as Hos. ii. 2, iii. 5; Mich. ii. 12 *seq.*; Ezek. xxxvii. 16, show how enduring the hope of complete national unity was. On the other hand, Graf (*Segen Moses*, p. 81) has pointed out that at the time when the poet wrote northern Israel was ‘victorious’ and prosperous. The time of Jeroboam II. (786-746) alone satisfies the requisite conditions. Israel had been ruled by insignificant kings; next was engaged in a long and disastrous struggle with the Syrians of Damascus. At last in Joash, and still more perfectly in Jeroboam II. Yahweh gave Israel a ‘victorious’ leader (2 Kings xiii. 5, xiv. 27): he restored the old boundaries, ‘and the children of Israel dwelt securely in their tents as in former days.’ This date may be accepted as approximately accurate, and is so accepted by Reuss (*Gesch.* § 213, 216); Kuenen (*Gods.* i. ch. i. note 4; *Onders.* i. § 13, 16); Stade (*Gesch.* i. p. 145-173).

¹ ‘From Meribah of Kadesh.’ The Hebrew has ‘from holy myriads.’ But the parallelism requires the mention of a place, and this is supplied by the reading of the LXX., viz. ‘Kadesh.’ ‘Meribah’ is a conjectural emendation.

² ‘At his right hand were’ or ‘was.’ The words which follow are hopelessly corrupt.

³ ‘His people.’ So LXX.

4. (Moses commanded us a law)¹
The assembly of Jacob [received] a possession.
5. And he became king in Jeshurun,²
When the heads of the people were gathered,
All the tribes of Israel together.
6. Let Reuben live not die,
So that his men should be few.
7. And this is [the blessing] of Judah; and he said,
Hear, O Yahweh, the voice of Judah,
And bring him to his people.
With thy hands strive for him,³
And be thou a help against his adversaries.
8. And of Levi he said,
Thy Thummim and Urim belong to the people of thy
devoted one.⁴

¹ 'Moses commanded us a law.' Clearly an interpolation. For (1) the use of 'Torah' for a legal code was not, as Dillmann points out, known before the publication of Deuteronomy: (2) the interpolation destroys the grammatical construction of the context. Israel 'received' the words of Yahweh and his possessions in Canaan. The one verb governs both objects.

² 'He became king in Jeshurun,' or 'there was a king in Jeshurun,' viz. Saul or David.

³ 'With thy hands strive for him.' This is Stade's emendation (*Gesch.* p. 160).

⁴ 'To the people of thy devoted one,' i.e. probably the men who claim descent from Moses, the servant of Yahweh. We find from a much older poem, the so-called blessing of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 5-7, that the Levites were at first a purely secular tribe. They were like the Simeonites, notorious for violence, and if we compare Gen. xlix. 5-7 with the older narrative in Gen. xxxiv., we see how this violence displayed itself. To a great extent the Hebrews acquired possession of Canaan by peaceable means. They settled among the Canaanites and intermarried with them. But the Simeonites and Levites made a murderous and treacherous attack on the people of Shechem. This violence did them no good. The Simeonites wandered southwards and became of little account; the Levites were homeless wanderers. The latter, however, had a great destiny. Tradition, very likely an accurate tradition, made Moses a Levite, and the idea arose that a Levite was specially fitted to act as priest. We have an instance of this feeling in Judges xvii. 'Then said Micah, Now I know that Yahweh will do me good, seeing I have a Levite for my priest.' For a long time the Levite priesthood subsisted side by side with the older and more natural priesthood. David's

- Whom thou didst prove at Massah,
 For whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah,
 9. To those who said of their father and of their mother,
 I have not seen him,
 Neither did they acknowledge their brethren,
 Or know their own children,
 For they have observed thy word
 And keep thy covenant.
 10. They shall teach Jacob thy judgments,
 And thine instruction to Israel,
 They shall put incense in thy nose,
 And the full offering upon thine altar.
 11. Bless, O Yahweh, his might,

sons were priests (2 Sam. viii. 18), and till late in the regal period laymen offered sacrifice without the least scruple or scandal. The Hebrew priesthood was for long much like the priesthood among the Greeks. Sacrifice in general was offered by all, but sacrifice at the great temples and shrines was limited to a special class. Even the special priests were not necessarily Levites, for an old tradition makes Joshua, the Ephraimite, the minister of Moses in the 'tent of meeting' (Exod. xxxiii. 11). However, at the sanctuary of the Danites in the north, there were Levitical priests claiming descent from Moses (Judges xviii. 30), and the priests of Shiloh seem to have done so also (1 Sam. ii. 27). Gradually, by a process which cannot be traced in detail, a fictitious genealogy was invented for all priests. All were supposed to be Levites, and to these Levites at the end of the regal period the right of sacrifice was limited absolutely. The derivation of the word Levi is uncertain. The theory that 'Levite' is derived from 'lāwah,' and meant originally not a tribe but an office, viz. : 'one attached to the sanctuary,' has been revived in the recent work of Baudissin (*Alttest. Priesterthum*, p. 264), but cannot be held in the face of Gen. xlix. 5-7. For fuller information see Wellhausen (*Gesch.* I. p. 145 *seq.*), Kuenen (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 77 *seq.*), and Baudissin's work to which reference has just been made. Of course the Israelite priest did more than sacrifice. He decided cases by the sacred lot, cases which, as the 'Book of the Covenant' puts it (Exod. xxii. 7, 8), were brought before God. It may have been these claims which provoked the resistance alluded to in ver. 11, and hence perhaps the praise of the Levites as impartial judges who did not recognise the closest ties of blood (Graf, *Segen Moses*, p. 34). As to Meribah and Massah the poet must have followed some lost tradition, different from that in Exod. xvii. 2-7, Num. xx. 3-13, where it is the people who murmur against God and tempt him by striving with Moses.

- And accept the work of his hands,
 Smite them that rise up against him in the loins,
 And them that hate him, so that they rise not again.
12. Of Benjamin he said,
 The beloved of Yahweh dwells in safety.¹
 He [Yahweh] covers him all the day long
 And dwells between his shoulders.
13. And of Joseph he said,
 Blessed of Yahweh be his land
 With the precious gifts of the heavens, with the dew,
 And with the deep that crouches beneath,
14. And with the precious fruits of the sun,
 And with the precious growth of the moons,
15. And with the chief things of the ancient mountains,
 And with the precious things of the everlasting hills,
16. And with the precious things of the land and its fulness,
 And the goodwill of him that dwells in the thorn-bush :
 Let [the blessing] come on the head of Joseph
 And on the crown of his head that is a prince among
 his brethren.
17. The first-born of his bull,—majesty is his,
 And his horns are the horns of a wild-ox ;
 With them he shall gore the nations, all of them,
 [Yea] the ends of the earth.
 Such ² are the myriads of Ephraim,
 Such are the thousands of Manasseh.
18. And of Zebulun he said,
 Rejoice, Zebulun, because of thy going out,
 And Issachar, because of thy tents.

¹ 'Dwells in safety.' The Hebrew adds 'with him' or 'by him.' Omitted in Sam., LXX., Syr., and some Hebrew MSS. Yahweh dwells 'between the shoulders' or ridges of Benjamin, *i.e.* at some popular shrine such as Gibeon (1 Kings iii. 4 *seq.*)

² 'Such.' So Sam., LXX., Syr. The Hebrew has 'and such.'

19. They call peoples to the mountain,¹
 There they offer righteous sacrifices,
 For they suck the abundance of the seas
 And the hidden treasure of the sands.
20. And of Gad he said,
 Blessed be he that enlarges Gad ;
 As a lioness he has settled down,
 And tears the arm, yea, the crown of the head.
21. And he provided the first part for himself,
 For there the portion of a leader was reserved ;
 And he came with the heads of the people,¹
 He executed the justice of Yahweh,
 And his judgments with Israel.
22. And of Dan he said,
 Dan is a lion's whelp
 That leaps forth from Bashan.
23. And of Naphtali he said,
 O Naphtali, satisfied with favour,
 And full of the blessing of Yahweh,
 Possess thou the lake and the south.³
24. And of Asher he said,
 Blessed above sons be Asher,
 Let him be the accepted one among his brethren,
 And let him dip his foot in oil.
25. Thy bars are iron and brass,
 And long as thy days may thy strength last. [?]

¹ 'Call peoples to the mountain,' *i.e.* to some sacred mountain such as Carmel where Elijah offered sacrifice. The feast was used as an occasion for trade. Similarly, the people of Mecca held a market during the feast at Mina, and Catholic feasts have often been used for the same purpose.

² 'And he came with the heads of the people.' The text is corrupt and the meaning uncertain. Perhaps 'came as the head of a people' or 'host' would be a tolerable emendation.

³ 'The lake and the south,' *i.e.* the Sea of Chinnereth (Lake of Tiberias) with its west shore.

26. There is none like the God of Jeshurun,¹
 Who rides on the heavens for thy help,
 And on the clouds in his excellency.
27. The God of the olden time is a dwelling-place,
 And beneath are everlasting arms,
 And he drove out the enemy before thee,
 And he said, "Destroy."
28. So Israel dwelt securely,
 The fountain of Jacob [dwelt] alone
 In a land of corn and must,
 Yea, his heavens drop down dew.
29. Happy art thou, O Israel :
 Who is like thee, a people victorious through Yahweh,
 The shield of thy help
 And he that is the sword that sets thee high !
 And thine enemies shall come fawning to thee,
 And thou shalt tread on their high places.

XXXIV. 1.^b 2 [And Moses went up] to the top of Pisgah and Yahweh showed him all the land. 4. And Yahweh said to him, 'This is the land which I swore to Abraham to Isaac and to Jacob, saying, To thy seed will I give it: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not pass over thither.' 5. So Moses the servant of Yahweh died there in the land of Moab according to the word of Yahweh. . . . 7.^b his eye was not dim nor his freshness gone.³ 10. And afterwards there

¹ 'God of Jeshurun.' This is the pointing followed by Sam., Syr., Onkel, Vulgate.

² xxxiv. 1.^b *seq.* The verses following belong as a whole to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' But here, as in the book of Joshua, we have to meet special difficulty because a Deuteronomical writer has edited and expanded an older text. In ver. 4^a we have a verbal repetition of Exod. xxxiii. 1. and the Deuteronomist does not write 'he swore, saying, I will give' but 'he swore to give.' Compare for similarity of idea and language ver. 10 with Gen. xviii. 19, Exod. xxxiii. 11, Num. xii. 8.

³ 'His eye was not dim,' etc. These words cannot come from the Deuteronomist who in Deut. xxxi. 2 makes Moses say, 'I am a hundred and twenty years old this day; I can no more go out and come in.'

arose no prophet in Israel such as Moses, whom Yahweh knew face to face.

Joshua. I. 1.¹ And it came to pass after the death of Moses, the servant of Yahweh, that Yahweh spoke to Joshua, the son of Nun, the minister of Moses, saying, 2. 'Moses my servant is dead; now therefore arise go over the Jordan, thou and all this people, to the land which I give them.' 10. And Joshua commanded the overseers of the people, saying, 11. 'Pass through the midst of the camp and command the people, saying, "Prepare victuals for yourselves, for within three days you are to pass over this Jordan [to] the land which Yahweh gives you."'

II. 1.² 'And Joshua the son of Nun sent out of Shittim two men as spies, secretly, saying, 'Go view the land and Jericho.' And they went and came into the house of a harlot whose name was Rahab and lay there. 2. And it was told the king of Jericho, saying, 'Behold, there came men in hither of the children of Israel to search out the land.' 3. And the king of Jericho sent to Rahab, saying, 'Bring forth the men that are come to thee,

¹ Joshua i. 1, 2, 10, 11. These verses belong in the main to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' But henceforth, as has been said, we have peculiar difficulties to contend with, for the older history has been, in Joshua, and especially in i.-xii., expanded and altered by a Deuteronomical writer. Kuenen holds that the substance of these verses has been taken from the 'Oldest Book,' and with this opinion Dillmann agrees in the main. At least he points out that it is the Elohist only who speaks of Joshua as 'the minister of Moses' (Exod. xxiv. 13, xxxiii. 11, Num. xi. 28), and that in 10, 11, there may be a substratum from the Elohist or the Jahvist. Albers (*Quellenbericht in Jos.* i.-xii. 1890) has proved how exactly the language of these verses corresponds with that of the Elohist. This careful writer, who has had the advantage of writing last, will be often referred to till we reach the end of Joshua xii. In ver. 2 I have followed the LXX. in omitting the superfluous gloss 'to the children of Israel.' I have also (after Albers) removed the Deuteronomical additions from ver. 11. This done, it is in exact conformity with ver. 2.

² ii. The visit of the spies to Jericho. Here all critics are agreed that the chapter as a whole belongs to the 'Oldest Book,' and it is also plain that vv. 10, 11, have been added by the Deuteronomist (so e.g. Kuenen, Dillmann, Albers). But the chapter cannot have been written, or at least put in its present place, by the author who wrote i. 11, iii. 2. In

who have entered thy house, for they are come to search out all the land.' 4. And the woman took the two men and hid them, and she said, 'Indeed the men came to me, but I did not know whence they were. 5. And it came to pass, about the time of the shutting of the gate when it was dark that the men went out : I do not know whither the men went : pursue after them quickly, for you can overtake them.' 6. But she had brought them up to the roof and hid them with the stalks of flax which she had laid in order on the roof. 7. And the men pursued after them on the Jordan road to the fords ; and as soon as they who pursued after them were gone, they shut the door. 8. And before they had lain down, she came up to them on the roof, 9. and she said to them, 'I know that Yahweh has given you the land, and that the terror of you has fallen upon us, and that all the inhabitants of the land melt away before you. 12. And now, I pray you, swear to me by Yahweh, since I have dealt kindly with you, that you also will deal kindly with me and my father's house—and give me a sure token— 13. and that you will save alive my father and my mother and my brothers and sisters and all that is theirs, and that you will deliver our souls from death.' 14. And the men said to her, 'Our life for yours, if you utter not this our business ; and it shall be, when Yahweh gives us the land, that we will deal kindly and truly with thee.' 15. Then she let them down by a cord through the window, for her house was upon the town wall and she dwelt on the wall. 16. And she said to them, 'Go to the mountain country, lest the pursuers light upon you, and hide there three days, till the pursuers be returned, and

i. 11 the Israelites are to cross the Jordan within three days, and in iii. 2 they begin to do so, when this time has elapsed ; whereas in chapter ii. the spies go on the first day to Jericho (ver. 1). take refuge for three days in the mountains (vv. 16-22), return next day with their news to Joshua (ver. 23), and it is only on the day after that, that the Israelites begin their march towards the Jordan (iii. 1), actually crossing it on the seventh day (iii. 5). Evidently the words 'after three days' in iii. 2 have the same meaning as in i. 11. In other words, the author of these verses did not know the story of Rahab and the spies.

afterwards you can go on your way.' 17. And the men said to her, 'We will be guiltless of this thine oath which thou hast made us swear. 18. Behold, when we come into the land, thou shalt bind this line of scarlet thread in the window which thou didst let us down by, and thou shalt gather to thee in the house thy father and thy mother and thy brothers and all thy father's household. 19. And it shall be, that whosoever shall go out of the doors of thy house into the street,—his blood shall be on his head and we shall be guiltless, and whosoever shall be with thee in the house,—his blood shall be on our head, if a hand be raised against him. 20. But if thou utter this our business, then we will be guiltless of thine oath which thou hast made us swear.' 21. And she said, 'According to your words, so be it.' And she sent them away and they departed, and she bound the scarlet line in the window. 22. And they went and came to the mountain country and abode there three days, till the pursuers had returned; and the pursuers sought them through all the way but did not find them. 23. Then the two men returned and descended from the mountain country and crossed over and came to Joshua the son of Nun and told him all that had befallen them. 24. And they said to Joshua, 'Yahweh has delivered all the land into our hands, and moreover all the inhabitants of the land melt away before us.'

III.¹ 1. And Joshua rose up early in the morning and they removed from Shittim and came to the Jordan, he and all the children of Israel; and they lodged there before they passed over. 2. And it came to pass after three days that the officers went

¹ iii.-iv. The waters of the Jordan miraculously divided and the transit of the people. Wellhausen has shown (and his opinion has been generally accepted) that two accounts have been intermingled in this section of the 'Oldest Book.' According to one, stones were erected (probably by the people) at Gilgal, the first station of the Israelites on the west of the Jordan. According to the other account the stones were placed in the middle of the Jordan itself by twelve men chosen from the twelve tribes. It is because two accounts have been mixed together that the story, as it stands, is so confused. Thus in iii. 12 Joshua tells the people to chose twelve men; no ex-

through the midst of the camp. 3. And they commanded the people, saying, 'When you see the ark of the covenant of Yahweh and the priests bearing it, then you shall remove from your place and go after it. 4. Yet there shall be a space between you and it, about two thousand cubits by measure: come not near it, that you may know the way by which you must go, for you have not passed this way heretofore.' 5. And Joshua said to the people, 'Sanctify yourselves, for to-morrow Yahweh will do wonders among you.' 6. And Joshua spoke to the priests, saying, 'Take up the ark of the covenant and pass over before the people.' And they took up the ark of the covenant and went before the people. 8. [And Yahweh said to Joshua], 'Thou shalt command the priests that bear the ark of the covenant, saying, "When you are come to the brink of the waters of the Jordan, you shall stand still in the Jordan."' 9. And Joshua said to the children of Israel, 'Come hither and hear the words of Yahweh.'¹ 10. And Joshua said, 'Hereby you shall know that a living God is in the midst of you, and that he will without fail drive out from before you the Canaanite and the Hittite, and the Hivite, and the Perizzite, and the Girgashite, and the Amorite, and the Jebusite.'² 11. Behold, the ark of the covenant³ passes over

planation of the reason for choosing them is given, and the verse is in complete isolation. But in iv. 1-5 Yahweh commands Joshua to choose the twelve men, and this time the reason is given, viz. that they may carry the stones. In iv. 11 we read that the people and priests have both passed over, though even this single verse contains a contradiction and makes the priests both the last and the first to cross. But in iv. 15 the priests are commanded to come up from the Jordan, as if they had not done so already. There are also numerous repetitions of the same thing. Comp. *e.g.* iii. 17 with iv. 10.

¹ 'Yahweh.' The text has 'Yahweh, your God,' a turn of expression characteristic of the Deuteronomist, and therefore added here by him.

² 'The Canaanite and the Hittite,' etc. Here we have seven nations, a complete number peculiar to the Deuteronomist (Deut. vii. 1; comp. Josh. xxiv. 11), so that there has been in all likelihood some alteration here by the hand of an editor.

³ 'The ark of the covenant.' The text adds, 'of the Lord of the whole earth,' words which in Hebrew destroy the grammatical construction, and are a manifest interpolation.

before you into the Jordan. 12. Now, therefore, take you twelve men out of the tribes of Israel, for every tribe a man. 13. And it shall come to pass, when the soles of the feet of the priests that bear the ark of Yahweh¹ shall rest in the waters of Jordan, that the waters of Jordan shall be cut off, [*i.e.*] the waters that come down from above, and shall stand in one heap.' 14. And it came to pass, when the people removed from their tents, to pass over Jordan, the priests bore the ark² being before the people: 15. and when they that bore the ark were come to Jordan, and the feet of the priests that bore the ark were dipped in the Jordan—for the Jordan overflows all its banks all the time of harvest, 16. that the waters which came down from above, stood and rose up in one great heap, a great way off at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan: and those that went down to the salt sea³ were wholly cut off: and the people passed over right against Jericho. 17. And the priests that bore the ark⁴ stood firm on dry ground in the midst of Jordan, and all Israel passed, until all the nation were passed clean over Jordan. IV. 1. And it came to pass, when all the nation were passed clean over Jordan, that Yahweh spoke to Joshua, saying, 2. 'Take you twelve men out of the people, out of every tribe a man, 3. and do you command them, "Take you hence out of the midst of Jordan, out of the place where the priests feet stood firm, twelve stones, and carry them over with you, and lay them down in the quarters, where you are to pass the night."' 4. Then Joshua called the twelve men, whom he had appointed from the children of Israel, out of every tribe a man, 5. and Joshua said to them, 'Pass over before the ark of Yahweh⁵ into the midst of Jordan, and take you up every man of you a stone on his shoulder,

¹ 'The ark.' The text again adds, 'the Lord of the whole earth.'

² 'The ark.' The text adds, 'of the covenant,' which is ungrammatical.

³ 'Salt sea.' The text adds, 'Sea of the "Arabah,"' or plain, which is the equivalent name with the Deuteronomist.

⁴ 'Bore the ark.' The words 'of the covenant of Yahweh' have been added in defiance of grammar.

⁵ 'The ark of Yahweh.' The Deuteronomist adds, 'your God.'

according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel, 6. that this may be a sign in the midst of you, that when your children ask in time to come, saying, "What mean you by these stones?" 7. then you shall say to them, "Because the waters of the Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of Yahweh; when it passed over Jordan, the waters of Jordan were cut off: and these stones shall be a memorial for the children of Israel for ever." 8. And the children of Israel did as Joshua commanded, and took up twelve stones out of the midst of Jordan, as Yahweh spoke to Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel, and they carried them over with them to their quarters, and laid them down there. 9. And Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of the Jordan in the place where the feet of the priests that bore the ark of the covenant, stood; and they are there to this day. 10. For the priests who bore the ark stood in the midst of the Jordan until everything was finished that Yahweh commanded Joshua to speak to the people, according to all that Moses commanded Joshua:¹ and the people passed over in all haste. 11. And it came to pass when all the people were clean passed over, that the ark of Yahweh passed over and the priests before the people.² 12. And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, passed over armed before the children of Israel, as Moses spoke to them. 15. And Yahweh spake to Joshua, saying, 16. 'Command the priests who bear the ark of the covenant³ that they come up out of Jordan.' 17. And Joshua commanded the priests, saying, 'Come up out of Jordan.' 18. And it came to pass, when the priests who bore the ark of the

¹ 'According to all that Moses commanded Joshua.' Omitted in LXX., and possibly an interpolation.

² 'The priests before the people.' The LXX. has 'the stones before the people,' which may be correct.

³ 'The ark of the covenant.' The text has 'the ark of the testimony,' a phrase peculiar to the 'Priestly Writer.' We need not however attribute the whole verse to him, as Dillmann does. A comparison of the LXX. text shows how easily a scribe might make such an alteration.

covenant of Yahweh were come up out of the midst of Jordan, and the soles of the priests' feet were lifted up to the dry ground, that the waters of Jordan returned to their place, and went over all its banks, as before. 20. And those twelve stones which they took out of Jordan, Joshua set up at Gilgal. V. 1.¹ And it came to pass, when all the kings of the Amorites who were beyond Jordan,² and all the kings of the Canaanites who were by the sea, heard that Yahweh had dried up the waters of the Jordan from before the children of Israel till they passed over,³ that their heart melted, neither was there spirit in them any more because of the children of Israel.

2.² At that time Yahweh said to Joshua, 'Make thee knives of flint, and circumcise the children of Israel. 3. And Joshua made him knives of flint, and circumcised the children of Israel

¹ v. 1. Dillmann attributes this verse to the Deuteronomist, and certainly it is closely allied to ii. 10, 11, which are from his hand. But the priority may be on the side of the verse before us: it forms a natural conclusion to ch. iii. 4, and the mention of the Amorites and the Canaanites west of Jordan may be due to the combination of words from the Elohist, who calls the inhabitants west of Jordan Amorites, with those of the Jahvist, who calls them Canaanites.

² 'Jordan.' The Hebrew text adds, 'westward,' which is absent in LXX.

³ 'Till they passed over.' S^b Hebrew marginal reading and all the other versions, including even the Targum and the Arabic of the London Polyglott.

⁴ vv. 2, 3, 8, 9. According to the author of these verses, circumcision had been usual among the Egyptians, but was not practised by the Hebrews, who bore the scorn or reproach of Egypt on this account. This view is allied to, though different from, that of the Jahvist, who traces the beginning of Hebrew circumcision to the family of Moses (Exod. iv. 24 *seq.*). But it is at variance with the later view of the 'Priestly Writer,' who represents God's covenant with Abraham, as resting on the circumcision of his male descendants (Gen. xvii.), and regards circumcision as 'the sign of the covenant,' and therefore anything rather than a following of Egyptian custom. Hence, an editor or collector has interpolated in ver. 2 the words 'again' and 'the second time.' This interpolation appears to be of late origin, for it is wanting in the Vatican MS. of the LXX., which has simply, 'sit down' ('shev' for 'shuv') 'and circumcise the children of Israel.' Next, vv. 4-7 have been added to explain the scandal that the children of Israel had been hitherto uncircumcised. It is said that this applied only to the children of the men who left Egypt.

at the hill of the foreskins. 8. And it came to pass that when they had done circumcising all the nation that they stayed in their places in the camp till they were well. 9. And Yahweh said to Joshua, 'This day I have rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you.' So the name of that place was called Gilgal to this day.

13.¹ And it came to pass when Joshua was by Jericho that he lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, there stood a man over against with his sword drawn in his hand; and Joshua went to him and said to him, 'Art thou for us or for our adversaries?'

14. And he said, 'Nay, but as prince of the host of Yahweh am I now come.' And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and bowed down and said to him, 'What says my lord to his slave?'

Fortunately the interpolation is so clumsy that its character is easily seen. Joshua is said to have circumcised the children of Israel 'a second time.' When on any supposition had he done so before? Why were not the children of Israel born in the desert circumcised according to the terms of the covenant on the eighth day? How could the Israelites incur 'the reproach of Egypt,' or rather 'of the Egyptians,' if they were circumcised so long as the Egyptians knew them, and uncircumcised only when they had passed utterly from the knowledge and interest of the Egyptians? The original document in the verses before us was first pointed out by Hollenberg, whose results have been adopted by Wellhausen, Kuenen, Dillmann, Kittel, etc. The objection of Albers rests on an impossible interpretation of the words, 'reproach of Egypt.' Finally, observe that the old legend is connected, like so many others, with a meaning given to the name of a place. The 'hill of foreskins' was no doubt so called from its shape. So Gilgal probably means 'cairn' or 'cromlech,' but the writer fancifully connects it with 'gālal,' to 'roll.' It did not occur to him that the thing rolled away was the chief point which the popular name, had it been given as he thought, must before all things have expressed. As to the use of flint, comp. the note on Exod. xx. 25; see also Exod. iv. 25.

¹ 13-15. The appearance of the angel to Joshua may have meant to explain the sanctity of the 'high place' at Gilgal. We know that it was a popular place of devotion (Am. iv. 4, v. 5; Hos. ix. 15, xii. 12), and the 'Oldest Book' constantly connects the old Canaanite shrines with divine or angelic appearances, and so with the worship of Israel. At the same time it is doubtful whether we have the story in its original form. We should expect Gilgal to be mentioned rather than Jericho, which, to be sure, was near Gilgal. Again, it is only late writers who mention the 'host' or 'army of Yahweh' (Ps. ciii. 20; cxlviii. 2; comp., however, 1 Kings xxii. 19), and it is not before Daniel (x. 13) that an angel is called 'a prince.' See Kuenen, *Onderz.* 1. § 13, 21.

15. And the captain of the host of Yahweh said to Joshua, 'Draw thy shoe from off thy foot for the place on which thou standest is holy.' And Joshua did so.

VI.¹ 1. Now Jericho was straitly shut up because of the children of Israel: none went out and none came in. 2. And Yahweh said to Joshua, ['See, I have given into thy hand Jericho and its king and ²] the mighty men of valour. 3. And you shall compass the city, all the men of war, going about the city once;

¹ vi. The taking of Jericho. Wellhausen, whose results have been as a whole universally accepted, first clearly showed that two accounts have been united in the chapter. According to the first and simpler account, the Israelites march round Jericho once on seven successive days. The first six days they march silently: on the seventh, at a word from Joshua, they shout, and the walls of the city fall. So vv. 3, 7^a, 10, part of 11, 14, in 15^a the words 'and it came to pass on the seventh day that they compassed the city after the same manner,' 15^b, in 20 the words, 'and the people shouted.' According to the other account, the Israelites march round the city seven times in one day, in their midst is the ark accompanied by seven priests carrying horns. In the seventh march round the city the priests sound the horns; at this signal the people shout, and the walls of Jericho fall. So part of ver. 4, vv. 5, 7^b, 8, 9, part of 13, part of 15, 16^a, 20^b. The editor has welded the two accounts together, and added something of his own, but has failed to make the two accounts into one consistent story. Thus in ver. 20 we read, 'So the people shouted, and they blew with the trumpets; and it came to pass, when the people heard the sound of the trumpet, that the people shouted with a great shout,' etc. Here the fact that the people shouted is mentioned twice in the same verse. First they shouted without hearing the trumpet, although ver 16^a distinctly implies that the shout is to begin after the sound of the trumpet. And how are we to understand the words, 'and they blew with the trumpets.' Who are 'they'? The English version, like the LXX., supposes the priests to be intended, but the priests have not been named since ver. 16. The words of ver. 20 become intelligible when we remember that, according to ver. 10, the people were to shout when Joshua gave the command, according to 5 when the priests blew a long blast on the trumpets. Both accounts are mixed up in ver. 20. The conclusion of the former account ran thus: 'Joshua said to the people, Shout, for Yahweh has given you the city (16^b). So the people shouted and blew with the trumpets' (20 at the beginning). The latter ran thus: 'And it came to pass, at the seventh time, that the priests blew with the trumpets (16^a), and it came to pass, when the people heard the sound of the trumpet, that the people shouted with a great shout, and the walls fell down,' etc.

² 'See, I have given,' etc. The words in brackets betray the style of the Deuteronomist.

thus shalt thou do six days. 4. And seven priests shall bear seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark, and the seventh day you shall compass the city seven times, and the priests shall blow with the trumpets. 5. And it shall be that when they make a long blast with the ram's horn, and when you hear the sound of the trumpet, all the people shall shout with a great shout, and the wall of the city shall fall down flat, and the people shall go up every man straight before him. 6. And Joshua the son of Nun called the priests and said to them, 'Take up the ark of the covenant, and let seven priests bear seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh.' 7. And he said to the people, 'Pass on and compass the city, and let the armed men pass on before the ark of Yahweh.' 8. And it was so, that when Joshua had spoken to the people, the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before Yahweh passed on, and blew with the trumpets, and the ark of the covenant of Yahweh followed them. 9. And the armed men went before the priests that blew the trumpets, and the rearward went after the ark, [the priests] blowing with horns as they went. 10. And Joshua commanded the people, saying, 'You shall not shout nor let your voice be heard, neither shall any word go out of your mouth, till the day I bid you shout; then shall you shout. 11. So he caused the ark of Yahweh to compass the city, going about it once: and they came into the camp, and spent the night there. 12. And Joshua rose early in the morning, and the priests took up the ark of Yahweh. 13. And the seven priests, carrying seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh, went on continually, and blew with the trumpets; and the armed men went before them, and the rearward came after the ark of Yahweh, [the priests] blowing with the trumpets as they went. 14. And on the second day they compassed the city once, and returned to the camp: so they did six days. 15. And it came to pass, on the seventh day, that they rose early at the dawning of the day, and compassed the city after the same manner seven times: only on that day they compassed the city seven times. 16. And it came to pass at the seventh

time, when the priests blew with the trumpets, Joshua said to the people, 'Shout, for Yahweh has given you the city. 17. And the city and all that is in it shall be devoted to Yahweh; only Rahab the harlot shall live, she and all that are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers that you sent. 18. And do you, in any wise, keep yourselves from the devoted thing, lest you covet¹ and take of the devoted thing, and so make the camp of Israel devoted,² and trouble it. 19. And all the silver and gold and vessels of brass and iron are holy to Yahweh; they shall come into the treasury of Yahweh.' 20. So the people shouted, and they blew with the trumpets; and it came to pass, when the people heard the sound of the trumpet, that the people shouted with a great shout, and the wall fell down flat, and the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city. 21. And they devoted all that was in the city, both man and woman, both young and old, and ox and sheep and ass, with the edge of the sword. 22. And Joshua said to the two men that spied out the land, 'Go into the harlot's house, and bring out thence the woman, and all that is hers, as you swore to her.' 23. And the young men the spies went in, and brought out Rahab, and her father, and her mother, and her brothers, and all that was hers, all her kindred also they brought out, and they set them without the camp of Isra 24. And they burnt the city with fire and all that was in it: only the silver and the gold and the vessels of brass and of iron they put into the treasury of the house of Yahweh. 25. But Rahab the harlot, and her father's household, and all that she had, Joshua saved alive; and she dwelt in the midst of Israel to this day, because she hid the messengers whom Joshua sent to spy out Jericho. 26. And Joshua charged

¹ 'Lest you covet.' So LXX.

² 'Devoted.' The city and its people were 'consecrated' to Yahweh by destruction. Then the thing or person put under the 'cherem' or ban was at once sacred and accursed, and he who appropriated anything so consecrated became in his turn consecrated or accursed. Compare the use of 'sacer' in Latin.

them with an oath at that time, saying, 'Cursed be the man¹ before Yahweh who shall arise and build the city of Jericho: at the cost of his firstborn shall he lay its foundation, and at the cost of his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it.

VII. 2.² And Joshua sent men to Ai, which is beside

¹ 'Cursed be the man.' We are told in 1 Kings xvi. 34 that in Ahab's reign Hiel rebuilt Jericho, and paid the penalty by the loss of his eldest and youngest son, 'according to the word of Yahweh which he spoke by Joshua.' The curse in this verse implies, as Dillmann remarks, acquaintance with the story, though not of course with the record of it in the Book of Kings. Many ancient nations (see e.g. Job xv. 28) thought it unlucky to rebuild ruins. Kuenen (*Onderz.* i. § 13, 15) suggests that probably Hiel sought to avert the wrath of his God by sacrificing two of his sons. On the 'old custom of immuring a living person in the walls or crushing him' under the foundation stone of a new building, see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. p. 144.

² vii. 2-26. Here with one notable exception the narrative runs smoothly. Achan takes the devoted thing: the Israelites are defeated by the people of Ai: Yahweh indicates the cause of his anger: the guilty person is discovered by lot: he is stoned, and a cairn is raised over his corpse. But in ver. 25^b we find the greatest confusion. It runs thus: 'All Israel stoned them with stones, and they burned them with fire and stoned them with stones.' The stoning is mentioned twice. The first mention of the stoning must be excluded on linguistic grounds, for the word used ('ragam') is characteristic of the 'Priestly Writer.' Even when this late interpolation has been removed, we naturally ask how the same persons could be burned and stoned. It has been answered that Achan and his family were stoned, and their corpses burned. There is, however, no hint of such a thing in the text, and why is the burning mentioned first? Besides, who are 'they'? In ver. 26 it is over Achan alone that the cairn is raised. Accordingly, we are led to adopt the solution given by Albers. He supposes that a Deuteronomical editor has introduced the mention of burning in deference to the enactment in Deut. xiii. 16, 17, so that not only 25^b but also 14, 15 are from his pen. The Deuteronomist has made his alteration awkwardly. The law (Deut. xiii. 16, 17) required that the inhabitants of a devoted city should be slain by sword and their goods burned. The interpolator has left the death by stoning as it stood in the older account, and interpolated the mention of fire so clumsily that the whole narrative has become obscure and confused. The theory of Albers is confirmed by an examination of ver. 24. 'And Joshua took Achan the son of Zerah (and the silver, and the mantle, and the wedge of gold, and his sons and his daughters, and his oxen and his asses, and his sheep and his tent, and all that he had), and all Israel with him, and they brought them up into the valley of Achor.' Here the words, 'and all Israel with him,' where they stand make no sense; and we have no right to transpose them, as has been done in the English version. If, however, we regard the words in brackets as an interpolation, the sense is restored: the two subjects, 'Joshua' and 'all Israel with him,'

Bethel,¹ saying, 'Go up and spy out the land.' And the men went up and spied out Ai. 3. And they returned to Joshua and said to him, 'Let not all the people go up, but let about two or three thousand men go up and smite Ai; make not all the people toil thither, for they are but few. 4. So there went up thither of the people about three thousand men; and they fled before the men of Ai. 5. And the men of Ai smote of them about thirty-six men, and they chased them from before the gate to Shebarim, and smote them at the declivity: and the hearts of the people melted and became as water. 6. And Joshua rent his clothes and fell to the earth upon his face before the ark of Yahweh until the evening, he and the elders of Israel, and they put dust on their heads. 7. And Joshua said, 'Ah, my Lord Yahweh, why hast thou at all brought this people over Jordan, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to cause us to perish? Would that we had been content and dwelt beyond Jordan! 8. Oh Lord, what shall I say, after Israel has turned his back upon his enemies? 9. For the Canaanites and the inhabitants of the land shall hear of it, and shall compass us round and cut off our name from the earth: and what wilt thou do for thy great name?' 10. And Yahweh said to Joshua, 'Get thee up: wherefore art thou thus fallen on thy face? 11. Israel has sinned: yea, they have even transgressed my covenant which I commanded them: yea, they have even taken of the devoted thing, and have also stolen and have also dissembled, and have even put it among their stuff. 12. Therefore the children of

are no longer separated by an intolerable interval. Further, in ver. 26, the words 'And Yahweh turned from the fierceness of his anger' are borrowed without change from Deut. xiii. 18, and interrupt the connection. In 12^b, in which Joshua, instead of being addressed singly, is suddenly identified with the rest of Israel, we have the language of the Deuteronomist; as also in the words 'God of Israel,' interpolated in verses 13, 19, 20. The language of the 'Priestly Writer' is found, as has been said, in ver. 25^b, and also in ver. 1 ('ma'al' and 'matteh' for tribe instead of 'shevet') and in 18^b.

¹ 'Which is beside Bethel.' So LXX. The present Hebrew text has altered Bethel, 'house of God,' into Bethaven, 'house of iniquity,' in its zeal to show that Bethel was not a lawful sanctuary. A still later scribe misunderstood this, and took Bethaven for an independent place, so that we have 'beside Bethaven, on the east side of Bethel.'

Israel cannot stand before their enemies, they turn their backs before their enemies, because they are become a thing vowed to destruction : 13. Up, sanctify the people, and say, Sanctify yourselves for the morrow : for thus says Yahweh, There is a devoted thing in the midst of thee, O Israel : thou canst not stand before thine enemies.' 16. So early in the morning Joshua brought Israel near by their tribes, and the tribe of Judah was taken : 17. and he brought near the families¹ of Judah : and he took the family of the Zerahites : and he brought near the family of the Zerahites by households,² and Zabdi was taken. 18. And he brought near his household man by man, and Achan was taken. 19. And Joshua said to Achan, 'My son, give, I pray thee, glory to Yahweh, and give him praise, and tell me now what thou hast done : hide it not from me.' 20. And Achan answered Joshua and said, 'Of a truth I have sinned against Yahweh, and thus and thus have I done. 21. When I saw among the spoil a goodly Babylonish mantle, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight, then I coveted them and took them ; and, behold, they are hid in the earth in the midst of my tent, and the silver under it.' 22. So Joshua sent messengers, and they ran to the tent ; and, behold, it was hid in his tent, and the silver under it. 23. And they took them from the midst of the tent and brought them to Joshua and to all the elders³ of Israel, and they laid them down before Yahweh. 24. And Joshua took Achan, [he] and all Israel with him ; and they brought him up to the valley of Achor. 25. And Joshua said, 'Why hast thou troubled us ? Yahweh shall trouble thee this day : ' and they stoned him.⁴ 26. And they raised over him a great heap of stones to this day. Therefore the name of that place was called the Valley of Achor to this day.

¹ 'Families.' So LXX., Vulg., and some Hebrew MSS.

² 'By households.' So Syr., Vulg., and some MSS.

³ 'Elders of Israel.' So LXX. Comp. ver. 6.

⁴ 'They stoned him.' The text has, 'and they stoned them with stones.' The number of the object has been changed from plural to singular for the

VIII. 1.¹ And Yahweh said to Joshua, 'Take all the people of war with thee and arise, go up to Ai. 2^b. . . . Set thee an ambush for the city behind it.' 3. So Joshua arose, and all the people of war, to go up to Ai: and Joshua chose out thirty thousand men, the mighty men of valour, to go up to Ai, and sent them forth by night. 4. And he commanded them, saying, 'Behold, you shall lie in ambush against the city, behind the city: go not very far from the city, but be you all ready: 5. And I

reason given at the beginning of this chapter, and the last words, viz., 'with stones,' have been omitted, because 'to stone with stones' is a phrase peculiar to the Deuteronomist.

¹ viii. 1-29. The taking of Ai. In this section the hand of the Deuteronomical editor is easily traced. Thus, from ver. 1, I have omitted 'Fear not, neither be thou dismayed' (comp. Deut. i. 21, xxxi. 8), and 'See, I have given into thy hand the king of Ai and his people, and his city and his land' (comp. Deut. iii. 2, and note on Joshua vi. 2); from ver. 2 the former half (comp. Deut. ii. 34 *seq.* iii. 6, xx. 14); from ver. 8 the words, 'According to the word of Yahweh shall you do' (they refer to the words excluded from ver. 2); from ver. 18 the words, 'For I will give it into thy hand' (see above on ver. 1); lastly, the whole of ver. 27, which is inseparable from 2^a.

These additions by the Deuteronomist (and possibly the list given should be increased) do not affect the substance of the narrative. But it has been long seen (*e.g.* by Knobel and Schrader) that this narrative, purified from Deuteronomical additions, is still drawn from two sources. It is composite, and therefore confused: so confused that the LXX. have taken great liberties with the text in the endeavour to make it consistent. The chief points of divergence are these:—

Joshua leads the Israelites against Ai.

Joshua despatches over-night 30,000 (perhaps a clerical error for 3000) men to form an ambush behind Ai (ver. 3).

The men in ambush are told to seize Ai when its inhabitants have deserted it in pursuit of the Israelites (ver. 7).

Joshua leads the Israelites to battle with the people of Ai and Bethel (see ver. 17, where Bethel is mentioned for the first time).

Joshua in the daytime, and apparently in the morning, despatches about 5000 men to form an ambush at the west of Ai (ver. 12).

The men in ambush take the city, when Joshua, by command of Yahweh, raises the javelin in his hand. (This javelin is first mentioned in ver. 18.) The people of Ai find themselves between the chief force of the Israelites and the ambush, and so are cut to pieces.

and all the people that are with me shall approach the city: and it shall come to pass, when they come out against us, as at the first, that we shall flee before them. 6. And they will come out after us till we have drawn them away from the city, for they will say, They flee before us, as at the first: so we will flee before them. 7^a. And you shall rise up from the ambush and take possession of the city. 8. And it shall be, when you have seized upon the city, that you shall set the city on fire: see, I have commanded you.' 9. And Joshua sent them forth; and they went to the ambush, and stayed between Bethel and Ai, on the west side of Ai; but Joshua spent that night among the people.¹ 10. And early in the morning Joshua mustered the people and went up, he and the elders of Israel, before the people to Ai. 11. And all the people² that were with him went up, and drew near and came before the city, and encamped on the north side of Ai: now there was a valley between him and Ai. 12. And he took

The Israelites draw the men of Ai from the city by a feigned flight (verses 5-7).

The Israelites are at first actually defeated (ver. 15). Apparently, they recover themselves by the magical effect of Joshua's outstretched spear. In any case, some magical effect is attributed to the spear, for Joshua holds it out till 'he had utterly devoted all the inhabitants of Ai.' Compare the effect of the 'rod of God' in the hand of Moses during the battle between Israel and Amalek (Exod. xvii. 8-16).

¹ 'Among the people.' The ingenious emendation of Ewald has been generally adopted. He reads 'b'thok ha'emeq' for 'b'thok ha'am,' *i.e.* 'in the midst of the valley' for 'in the midst of the people.' Joshua spent the night in the valley immediately to the north of Ai. Had he sent on the ambush, and remained behind with the people at Gilgal, time would have been lost, and the ambush exposed to the risk of discovery. Still, the reading 'among the people' may be, and probably is, due to the compiler who used two documents for his 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' For in verses 10 and 11 he draws from his other document, according to which Joshua does not set out for Ai till next morning. Then also he sends off the ambush, so that a contradiction is still left.

² 'All the people.' An interpolator has added 'of war,' which makes the Hebrew text ungrammatical.

about five thousand men, and set them in ambush between Bethel and Ai, on the west side of the city. 13. So they set the people, all the host that was on the north of the city, and their liers in wait that were on the west of the city; and Joshua went that night into the midst of the valley. 14. And it came to pass, when the king of Ai saw it, that they hasted and rose up early; and the men of the city went out against Israel to battle, he and all his people, at the time appointed,¹ before the Arabah, but he did not know that there was an ambush against him behind the city. 15. And Joshua and Israel were beaten² before them, and fled by the way of the wilderness. 16. And all the people that were in the city were called forth to pursue after them; and they pursued after Joshua, and were drawn away from the city. 17. And there was not a man left in Ai or Bethel that went not out after Israel: and they left the city open and pursued after Israel. 18. And Yahweh said to Joshua, 'Stretch out the javelin that is in thy hand towards Ai.' And Joshua stretched out the javelin that was in his hand towards the city. 19. And the ambush rose quickly out of their place, and they ran as soon as he had stretched out his hand, and entered into the city and took it: and they hasted and set the city on fire. 20. And when the men of Ai looked behind them, they saw, and behold, the smoke of the city ascended up to the heavens, and they had no power to flee this way or that way: and the people that fled to the wilderness turned back on the pursuers. 21. And when Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the city, and that the smoke of the city ascended, then they turned again and slew the men of Ai. 22. And the others came out of the city against them: so they were in the midst of Israel, some on this side, and some on

¹ 'At the time appointed.' No mention has been made of any appointed time or place. The words belong to one of the documents which has been mutilated in its combination with the other.

² 'Were beaten.' The English translation (Revised) has 'made as if they were beaten,' which would remove one of the contradictions due to the composite character of the narrative. But Kimchi rightly remarks that this translation would require another grammatical form ('hithpael' instead of 'niph'al').

that side: and they smote them, so that they let none of them remain or escape. 23. And the king of Ai they took alive, and brought him to Joshua. 24. And it came to pass, when Israel had made an end of slaying all the inhabitants of Ai in the field, in the wilderness wherein they pursued them, and they were all fallen by the edge of the sword till they were consumed, that all Israel returned to Ai, and smote it with the edge of the sword. 25. And all that fell that day, both of men and women, were twelve thousand—all the men of Ai. 26. And Joshua drew not back his hand wherewith he stretched out the javelin, till he had devoted all the inhabitants of the city. 28. So Joshua burnt Ai and made it a heap for ever, a desolation to this day. 29. And the king of Ai he hung on a tree till the eventide; and at the going down of the sun Joshua commanded, and they took his corpse down from the tree, and they cast it down at the entering of the gate of the city, and raised thereon a great heap of stones to this day.

IX. 3.¹ Now when the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what

¹ ix. 3-27. The treaty with the Gibeonites. Here there is general agreement on the following points:—(1) Verses 1, 2, ver. 9 from 'because of the name' to the end, verses 10, 24, 25, in ver. 27 the words 'in the place which he should choose,' belong to the Deuteronomical editor. They are not necessary to the context, and contain a number of characteristic phrases taken verbally from Deuteronomy. It is also admitted that 17-21, and 'the princes of the congregation,' 'the congregation,' in verses 15 and 27, belong to the 'Priestly Writer.' (2) In the text thus purified we have two inconsistent accounts united. In the one the Gibeonites go to 'the men of Israel,' deceive them, and make their treaty with them. Joshua, after the treaty has been made, saves the Gibeonites from the rage of the Israelites, when the latter find they have been outwitted. So verses 7, 12-14, 16, 22, 23, 25. According to another account, the Gibeonites go directly to Joshua, so ver. 8; while in other verses the two accounts have been welded together. Budde (*Richter u. Samuel*, p. 50 *seq.*), with whom Kittel is inclined to agree, denies that two documents are to be found here; but he restores unity by emending the text (see, in defence of its original duality, Wellhausen, Dillmann, Albers). (3) The signs of Jahvist authorship in the one account, viz., that in which the Gibeonites, called by the author Hivites, treat directly with the men of Israel, are clear, and recognised by all critics.

Further, the story of the Gibeonites has a peculiar interest, because we

Joshua had done to Jericho and Ai, 4. they also dealt deceitfully, and went and took provisions,¹ and took old sacks for their asses, and wine-skins old and rent and bound up, 5. and old and patched shoes on their feet, and old garments upon them, and all the bread of their provision was dried into crumbs. 6. And they went to Joshua to the camp at Gilgal, and said to him, and to the men of Israel, 'We are come from a far country: now therefore make a covenant with us.' 7. And the men of Israel said to the Hivites, 'Perhaps you dwell among us; and how shall we make a covenant with you?' 8. And they said to Joshua, 'We are thy slaves.' And Joshua said to them, 'Who are you? and whence do you come?' 9. And they said to him, 'From a far country thy servants are come. 11. And our elders and all the inhabitants of our country spoke to us, saying, Take provision in your hand for the journey, and go to meet them, and say to them, We are your slaves: and now make a covenant with

can fix approximately the date at which the legend was formed. In the times before the monarchy there was a girdle of independent Canaanite towns, viz., Jebus or Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 6 *seq.*), Kiriathjearim, Chephira, Beeroth, Gibeon (Josh. ix. 17), Aijalon, Shaalbim (Judges i. 35), and Gezer (Judges i. 29) which stretched right across the country from east to west, completely parted Judah from the northern tribes, and made national union impossible. Hence in Deborah's song Judah is not even mentioned, though the aspiration for the united action of the other tribes is the dominant idea of the song. Some time before Saul's reign a treaty was made between Israel and Gibeon, and in this way the obstacle to co-operation between Judah and the northern tribes was partly removed, especially as Aijalon and Shaalbim had been already reduced to vassalage (Judges i. 35). Gibeon still, though with heavy loss, maintained its independence against Saul, and David from motives of superstition treated it as an independent power, even after the fall of Jerusalem. (2 Sam. xxi. See particularly ver. 2, 'The Israelites had sworn unto them,' *i.e.* they had made a treaty with them; 'Saul sought to smite them;' he would not of course try to smite his own vassals, much less his bondsmen. The words can only mean that he attacked them in spite of the alliance.) At last Solomon reduced the Canaanites generally, and therefore the Gibeonites among them, to bondage (1 Kings ix. 21). Accordingly the legend before us is in its origin later than Solomon, especially as the Gibeonites in it become slaves to the 'house (not tent) of Yahweh,' *i.e.* to the temple Solomon built. Moreover, the legend must have arisen so long after Solomon's time that the true history of the Gibeonites was forgotten.

¹ 'Took provisions.' So all the versions, even the Targum.

us. 12. This our bread we took hot for our provision out of our houses on the day we came forth to go to you ; but now, behold, it has become dry and is turned into crumbs. 13. And these wine-skins which we filled were new, and, behold, they are rent ; and these our garments and our shoes are become old by reason of the very long journey.' 14. And the men took of their provision, but they did not ask counsel at the mouth of Yahweh. 15. And Joshua made peace with them, and made a covenant with them to let them live. 16. And it came to pass at the end of three days after they had made a covenant with them, that they heard that they were their neighbours, and that they dwelt among them. 22. And Joshua called for them and spoke to them, saying, 'Why have you beguiled us, saying, We are very far from you, when you dwell among us?' 23. Now therefore you are cursed ; there shall never fail to be of you bondsmen, both hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God.' 26. And so he did to them, and delivered them out of the hand of the children of Israel, so that they did not slay them. 27. And Joshua made them hewers of wood and drawers of water for the altar of Yahweh to this day.

X. 1.¹ Now it came to pass, when Adoni-Zedek king of Jerusalem heard how Joshua had taken Ai and had devoted it,² and how the inhabitants of Gibeon had made peace with Israel,³ 2. that they feared greatly, because Gibeon was a great city, as one of the royal cities, and because it was greater than Ai, and because all its men were mighty. 3. So Adoni-Zedek king of Jerusalem sent to Hoham king of Hebron, and to Piram,

¹ x. 1-11, 16-27. The student should begin by reading these verses together. They form a continuous history of the battle of Gibeon. Ver. 25, however, is admittedly a later addition. The style of the Deuteronomist is evident at a glance. Comp. Deut. i. 21, xxxi. 8, Josh. i. 9, viii. 1. The same holds good of ver. 8.

² 'And devoted it.' The words which follow, 'As he did to Jericho and its king, so he did to Ai and its king,' break the connection, and are almost certainly an interpolation. So Dillmann.

³ 'Had made peace with Israel.' The Hebrew text adds, 'and were in the midst of them.' They are absent in the LXX.

king of Jarmuth, and to Japhia king of Lachish, and to Debir king of Eglon, saying, 4. 'Come up to me and help me, and smite Gibeon, for it has made peace with Joshua and the children of Israel.' 5. So the five kings of the Amorites, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, gathered themselves together, and went up, they and all their hosts, and encamped against Gibeon, and made war against it. 6. And the men of Gibeon sent to Joshua to the camp at Gilgal, saying, 'Slack not thy hand from thy servants; come up to us quickly, and save us, and help us: for all the kings of the Amorites ¹ are gathered together against us.' 7. So Joshua went up from Gilgal, he and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of valour. 9. Joshua therefore came on them suddenly, for he went up from Gilgal all the night. 10. And Yahweh threw them into confusion before Israel, and he slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them by the way of the ascent of Beth-horon, and smote them to Amekah and to Makkedah. 11. And it came to pass, as they fled before Israel, while they were in the descent of Beth-horon, that Yahweh cast down great stones from the heavens upon them as far as Azekah, so that they died: there were more that died with the hailstones than those whom the children of Israel slew with the sword.

12. Then ² spoke Joshua to Yahweh, and said in the sight of Israel—

'Sun, stand thou still on Gibeon,

And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.

¹ 'All the kings of the Amorites.' The text adds, 'that dwell in the hill country.' Most of the kings dwelt in the Shephelah or lowlands, so that the words are an unsuitable interpolation. Comp. Deut. i. 44.

² 12-15. The sun and moon stand still at Joshua's prayer. Plainly this § cannot be from the same hand which wrote the rest of the chapter. Yahweh has already done the best that could be done for the Israelites, for he has destroyed their foes by a miraculous shower of hailstones. Besides, according to this § the miracle of the lengthened day closes the scene. Joshua (ver. 15) returns to the camp at Gilgal; whereas in ver. 16 the pursuit of the Amorite kings is still continued. On the other hand, the § 12-15 can scarcely

13. And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,

Till the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies.'

Is not this written in the Book of the Upright?¹ And the sun stayed in the midst of the heavens, and made no haste to go down about a whole day. 14. And there was no day like that before it or after it, that Yahweh listened to the voice of a man, for Yahweh fought for Israel.

15. And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to the camp.

16. And these five kings fled and hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah. 17. And it was told Joshua, saying, 'The five kings are found, hidden in the cave, at Makkedah.' 18. And Joshua said, 'Roll great stones to the mouth of the cave, and set men by it to keep them: but stay not you, 19. pursue after your enemies and smite the hindmost of them: suffer them not to enter into their cities.'² 20. And it came to pass, when Joshua and the children of Israel had made an end of slaying them with a very great slaughter, till they were consumed, and the remnant that were left had entered into the fortified cities, 21. that all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace; none sharpened his tongue against the children of Israel. 22. Then said Joshua, 'Open the mouth of the cave and bring forth

come, as Dillmann supposes, from the Deuteronomist. The style of 13^b, 14^a, is, as Wellhausen points out, wholly unlike his. Still, here as elsewhere, we have at least one phrase interpolated by a Deuteronomical editor, viz.: 'On the day that Yahweh delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel' (comp. Deut. i. 8, 21; ii. 24, 31, etc.: the expression in this sense occurs nine times in Deuteronomy, and nowhere else in the Pentateuch).

¹ 'Book of the Upright.' 'The Book of the Brave' would perhaps be a better translation if our word 'brave' had, like the German 'brav' or the French 'brave,' the double sense of 'honest' and 'courageous.' The 'Book of the Upright' seems to have been a book of poems, for in 2 Sam. i. 18, the only other place in which it is mentioned, a poem is also quoted from it. Possibly, we have another poetical quotation from this book in the LXX. text of 1 Kings viii. 53. See Robertson Smith, *O.T. in Jewish Church*, p. 403 seq.

² 'Suffer them not to enter into their cities.' The Deuteronomical editor has added, 'for Yahweh your God has delivered them into your hand.' Comp. vi. 2, viii. 1.

these five kings to me out of the cave.' 23. And they brought him forth¹ those five kings out of the cave: the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon. 24. And it came to pass, when they brought forth these kings to Joshua, that Joshua called for all the men of Israel, and said to the chiefs of the men of war that went with him, 'Come near, put your feet on the necks of these kings.' And they came near and put their feet upon their necks. 26. And Joshua smote them,² and put them to death, and hanged them on five trees: and they were hanging on the trees till the evening. 27.³ And it came to pass, at the time of the going down of the sun, that Joshua commanded, and they took them down off the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had hidden themselves, and laid great stones on the mouth of the cave to this day.

28.⁴ and Joshua took Makkedah on that day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and its king: he devoted it.

29. And Joshua passed from Makkedah, and all Israel with him, to Libnah, and fought against Libnah. 30. And he smote it with the edge of the sword.

¹ 'And they brought forth.' The words, 'And they did so,' with which the verse begins in the Hebrew, disturb the sense, and are absent in the LXX.

² 'And Joshua smote them.' The Hebrew text has 'smote them afterwards,' but the word 'afterwards' from its awkward position in the sentence seems to be an interpolation occasioned by the insertion of the Deuteronomical verse, 25.

³ 27. The taking down of the corpses at sun-down accords with Deut. xxi. 23. But the resemblance between the two passages is not verbal. And the custom may well have been older than the enactment in Deuteronomy. Accordingly, there is no need to assign this verse, or viii. 29, to a Deuteronomical editor.

⁴ 28-39, 43. The origin of these verses is very doubtful. They accord with the unhistorical view of the Deuteronomist that Joshua swept the older inhabitants of Canaan away and made the land a *tabula rasa* for the settlement of Israel. Certainly, too, Deuteronomical phrases recur frequently, viz.: 'He left none remaining,' in 28, 30, 33, 37, 39; 'Delivered into the hand of,' 30, 32. Indeed, we have in this § language later still, viz.: 'All the souls that were therein' (28, 30, 32, 35, 37), for it is only the 'Priestly Writer' who uses 'soul' for 'person.' Still, there is probably in this § a substratum older than the Deuteronomist. For in 37 we are told that Joshua killed the king of Hebron, whereas according to 23 *seq.* he had

31. And Joshua passed from Libnah, and all Israel with him, to Lachish, and encamped against it and fought against it, 32. and he took it on the second day, and smote it with the edge of the sword.

33. Then Horam king of Gezer came up to help Lachish, and Joshua smote him and his people.

34. And Joshua passed from Lachish, and all Israel with him, to Eglon; and they encamped against it and fought against it: 35. and they took it on that day and smote it with the edge of the sword, and he devoted [it].

36. And Joshua went up from Eglon, and all Israel with him, to Hebron, and they fought against it. 37. And they took it and smote it with the edge of the sword, and its king and all its cities: he devoted it.

38. And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to Debir, and fought against it, 39. and took it, and its king and all its cities, and they smote them with the edge of the sword, and devoted [them]. 43. And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to the camp at Gilgal.

XI. 1.¹ And it came to pass, when Jabin king of Hazor heard of it, he sent to Jobab king of Madon and to the king of Shim-

been killed already. Therefore, we seem to have in 28-39, 43, the work of a writer who had not read 16-27. His work passed through the hands of the Deuteronomist, who expanded it after his own fashion, and removed divergences from 16-27, leaving the slaughter of the king of Hebron in ver. 37 by a fortunate oversight.

¹ xi. 1-10, 13. Joshua's victory over Jabin king of Hazor and his allies. It is generally agreed that 1-10, making allowance for some alterations and additions (viz., vv. 2, 3, the first words in 8^a, 8^b) by the Deuteronomical editor, belong to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' So also ver. 13 is clear from any marks of the Deuteronomist's style. Albers may be right in his belief that it is possible to discover an older substratum even in the rest of the chapter. But in any case this original matter has been altered and expanded by the Deuteronomist, and I have thought it safer to refrain from any attempt to separate the older foundation from the Deuteronomical superstructure.

It must be remembered, however, that at the best we are dealing here with the newest and most worthless elements in our 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' Not only was that book compiled from two documents, but when

ron and to the king of Achshaph. 4. And they went out, they and all their hosts, a great multitude, as the sand that is on the sea-shore for number, with very many horses and chariots. 5. And all these kings met: and they came and encamped together at the waters of Merom, to fight with Israel. 6. And Yahweh said to Joshua, 'Be not afraid because of them, for to-morrow at this time I will deliver them up all slain before Israel: thou shalt hough their horses and burn their chariots with fire. 7. So Joshua came, and all the people of war with him, against them by the waters of Merom suddenly, and they fell upon them. 8^a. And they smote them, and chased them to the great Sidon and to Misrephothmaim and to the valley of Mizpeh eastward. 9. And Joshua did to them as Yahweh bade him: he houghed their horses and burnt their chariots with fire. . . . 13. But as for the cities that stood on their mounds, Israel burnt none of them save Hazor only: that did Joshua burn.

so compiled, and before it was united to Deuteronomy, it underwent much alteration and addition. In its later parts it displays the tendency, further developed by the Deuteronomist (1) to represent the conquest of Canaan as the single act of the united tribes, whereas it was effected gradually by Judah and Simeon, by the tribes of Joseph, by the northern tribes all acting independently (see Judges i.); (2) to make Joshua the leader of united Israel, and to attribute the deeds of subsequent heroes to him. Thus, in chapter x., we find Joshua making a clean sweep of the Canaanites in the south. Among other cities he takes Hebron and Debir. But according to an older and far more credible story, Judah and Simeon separate from the other tribes, to conquer the south, and it is Caleb not Joshua under whose leadership Hebron and Debir are taken (Joshua xv. 13-19, Judges i. 10-15). Again, in this chapter Joshua follows up his campaign in the south by another against Jabin and the kings of the north, and once more makes a clean sweep of the original inhabitants. But from Judges i. 27 *seq.* it is plain that for long after Joshua's time much of the north remained in Canaanite hands; and according to an older legend (Judges iv.) it was not Joshua but a later hero, Barak, who won a victory over Jabin king of Hazor. (With regard to Jabin in Judges iv., comp. Bertheau, *Richter u. Ruth*, p. 83, with Kuenen, *Onderz.* i. p. 345, and Budde, *Richter u. Samuel*, p. 105 *seq.*) It need scarcely be said that the story of the conquest as told in those later sections of the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' is impossible on the face of it. Joshua takes Jericho and Ai, then conquers the kings in the centre, then the kings in the south, then the kings in the north, while no attempt is made at a general combination against the common foe.

. . . . XIII. 13.¹ And the children of Israel did not drive out the Geshurites nor the Maacathites, but Geshur and Maacath dwelt in the midst of Israel to this day. . . .

XV. 13.² And to Caleb the son of Kenaz a portion was given among the children of Israel, as Moses had spoken, namely Hebron. Then Caleb went up against the Canaanites who dwelt in Hebron—now the name of Hebron in former times was Kiriath-Arba. 14. And Caleb drove out thence the three sons of Anak: Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmi. 15. And he went up

¹ xiii. 13. Henceforward we have but fragments from the 'Oldest Book.' It has been displaced by the later and unhistorical accounts of the 'Priestly Writer' and the Deuteronomist, who attribute to Joshua a systematic distribution of the whole land west of the Jordan among the nine and a half tribes. I have confined myself to those fragments about the origin of which there is little doubt. xiii. 13 is such a fragment, for (1) it agrees in form with Judges i., an account of the conquest which is admittedly ancient and almost certainly by the Jahvist: (2) it does not belong to the context in which it stands, since it directly contradicts the statement in ver. 11, that the Israelites did conquer the territory (border) of the Geshurites and Maacathites—a statement made in the teeth of history; comp. 2 Sam. iii. 3; x. 6, 8; xiii. 37 *seq.*; xiv. 23, 32; xv. 8: (3) it also contradicts the Deuteronomist, who (Deut. iii. 14, Joshua xii. 5) speaks of Geshur and Maachah as the boundaries of Israel, not as enclosed in the territory of Israel.

² xv. 13-19. Conquests of Caleb the Kenizzite. This is beyond all doubt a fragment from the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History;' and not only so, it belongs to the oldest and most precious portions of that history, and is assigned by most critics to the Jahvist. The conception of the conquest is in marked contrast to that which prevails throughout the book of Joshua, and here we have genuine historical tradition. The conquest of the south is effected by isolated efforts: the fiction of a united Israel fighting under Joshua is absent. The hero of the conquest is not even an Israelite or Judæan. He belongs to the Kenizzites, an Edomite clan (Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15, 42), and even in David's time the families who traced their descent to Caleb were distinct from Judah (1 Sam. xxx. 14). Later writers, especially the 'Priestly Writer,' have obscured this connection of Edomites and Calebites, but the fact that Calebite clans had Edomite names appears even from the genealogical lists of the Chronicler (comp. 1 Chron. iv. 15 with i. 52 *seq.*, and ii. 52 with i. 40). Jerahmeel, another non-Israelite clan, was connected with Caleb, and was like Caleb one of the heterogeneous elements from the later unity of which Judah arose (1 Sam. xxvii. 10, 30, 29. comp. ii. 9, 25, 41). Note the importance of the fact that Hebron, the capital of Judah, was a Calebite city. The origin of the Judæan families has been ably investigated by Wellhausen (*De Gentibus et Familiis Judæis*).—

thence against the inhabitants of Debir: now the name of Debir in former times was Kiriath-Sepher. 16. And Caleb said, 'He that smiteth Kiriath-Sepher and takes it—to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife. 17. And Othniel the son of Kenaz, the younger brother of Caleb, took it: and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife. 18. And it came to pass when she came to him, that he moved her to ask field-land from her father: and she alighted from her ass, and Caleb said to her, 'What wouldst thou?' 19. And she said, 'Give me a present; for thou hast set me in the land of the south; give me also springs of water.' And he gave her the upper and nether springs.

. . . . 63.¹ And as for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out, but the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Judah at Jerusalem, to this day.

. . . . XVI. 1.² And the boundary of the children of Joseph

In the text of this fragment I have adopted the emendations of Meyer and Budde. We have two recensions of the Hebrew text, one in the book of Joshua, the other in Judges i. 10-15, 20; and the original text has to be reconstructed by a comparison of the two recensions. For ver. 13 comp. Judges i. 20, 10. For 'Caleb, son of Jephunneh' I have substituted 'Caleb, son of Kenaz,' because Othniel, Caleb's brother (his 'younger' brother, to account for his marriage with Caleb's daughter) is said in ver. 17 to be 'a son of Kenaz.' In ver. 18 we should read 'he moved her' with the LXX. text of Judges i.

¹ xv. 63. We have another recension of this verse in Judges i. 21, where, however, we have 'the children of Benjamin' for 'the children of Judah.' Undoubtedly, the book of Joshua has preserved the original form of the text. The theory of later writers (Joshua xviii. 28) reckoned Jerusalem to Benjamin. But in fact the city remained in the hand of the Canaanites till it was taken by David and the Judaeans. The later theory may have arisen from the fact that many Benjamites settled at Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 6 *seq.*, and 1 Kings xii. 21).

² xvi. 1-3. A fragment of the 'Oldest Book' (Wellhausen, Dillmann, Kittel). It is plainly from another hand than that which wrote the rest of the chapter, viz.: the 'Priestly Writer.' For ver. 4 starts afresh: 'And the children of Joseph, Manasseh, and Ephraim took their inheritance.' Here the 'children of Joseph' are regarded as one tribe. But the words of the fragment have been altered in the style of the 'Priestly Writer.' At the beginning of ver. 1 the LXX. reading has been adopted.

was from the Jordan at Jericho at the waters of Jericho on the east, along the wilderness which goes up from Jericho through the hill country to Bethel; 2. and it went out from Bethel to Luz and passed along to the border of the Archites to Ataroth; 3. and it went down westwards to the border of the Japhletites, to the border of the lower Bethoron, as far as Gezer and its goings out were at the sea. . . .

. . . . 10.¹ But Ephraim did not drive out the Canaanites who dwelt at Gezer, and the Canaanites dwelt in the midst of Ephraim to this day, still they were reduced to forced service. . . .

. . . . XVII. 1.² As for Machir the first-born of Manasseh, the father of Gilead, because he was a man of war, therefore he had Gilead and Bashan. 2. And [territory came] to the rest of the children of Manasseh according to their families, to the children of Ebiezer, and to the children of Helek, and to the children of Asriel, and to the children of Shechem, and to the children of Hephher, and to the children of Shemida: these were

¹ 10. The words recur, Judges i. 29. Notice the word 'drive out,' the phrase 'forced service' (literally 'the forced service of a labourer') which is only found here and in Gen. xlix. 15, also a very antique passage. Even in Solomon's time Gezer was independent of the Israelites, for his Egyptian father-in-law took it, slew the inhabitants, and handed over the city to the Hebrew king (1 Kings ix. 16). The slaughter of the inhabitants need not be pressed too far. Probably the remnant passed into the state of serfdom described here, while the city retained its non-Hebrew character.

² xvii. 1-13. Here the fragments of the 'Oldest Book' are easily distinguished. According to the 'Priestly Writer' (Num. xxvi. 29), Machir was the only son of Manasseh, here he is merely his first-born. Moreover, the account of the conquest here is natural, and at least by comparison historical. Machir obtains territory, because he is able to fight for it, separately and with his own hand, not because Joshua first subdues the whole land and then allots a certain portion of it to him. Note also in vv. 11-13 that a belt of towns stretching from the Jordan to the Mediterranean divided the north tribes from the house of Joseph, just as another belt (see note on ix. 3-27) divided Joseph from Judah. The national unity of the Hebrews was not possible before the conquests of David. In ver. 2 I have adopted the emendation, 'the rest of the children of Manasseh' for 'male children of Manasseh.' The text of verses 11, 12 has been restored with the help of the parallel text in Judges i. 27.

the rest of the children of Manasseh, the son of Joseph, according to their families. . . .

. . . . 8. The land of Tappuah belonged to Manasseh, but [the city of] Tappuah on the border of Manasseh belonged to the children of Ephraim. . . . 9. These cities belonged to Ephraim in the midst of the cities of Manasseh. . . .

. . . . 10.^b And they reached to Asher on the north and to Issachar on the east. 11. 12. **And Manasseh could not drive out [the inhabitants of] Beth-shean and its dependencies, nor of Taanach and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Dor and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Ibleam and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Megiddo and its dependencies : but the Canaanites maintained their place in that land.** 13. **And it came to pass that when the children of Israel were stronger, they reduced the Canaanites to serfdom, but they did not drive them out utterly.**

14.¹ **And the house of Joseph spoke to Joshua, saying, 'Why**

¹ 14-18. Evidently a very antique fragment. Joshua appears as the leader of the house of Joseph, not of all Israel. He gives the children of Joseph a 'lot,' only in the sense that he directs them to win land for themselves. The superiority of the lowland Canaanites to the Israelites is admitted or rather taken for granted.

I have given the text in its present form, except in two particulars. I have substituted 'house of Joseph' for 'children of Joseph.' The Hebrew text retains 'house of Joseph' in ver. 17: the LXX. have changed it into 'sons of Joseph' even there. But the singular pronouns ('why hast thou given to me?' etc.) prove that 'house of Joseph' should be read throughout. In ver. 15 I have with the LXX. omitted the gloss 'in the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim.'

But these restorations are obviously insufficient. The house of Joseph complains that it has only one lot. Joshua evidently means to meet their wishes and yet leaves them after all with a single lot. He promises that the hill country shall be theirs, as if Joseph were not already in the hill country and complained that it was too little for him. Budde's restoration of the original text seems to be as satisfactory as it is brilliant. According to this, Joshua does not say, 'the hill country shall be thine,' which is senseless, but 'the hill country by Gilead shall be thine.' In immediate connection followed Num. xxxii. 41, 42, relating how Jair and Nobah, the Manassites, won Gileadite territory and called it after their own names. Finally came Joshua xiii. 3, which mentions the places in Gilead, viz. : Geshur

hast thou given me but one lot and one part for an inheritance, seeing I am a great people, forasmuch as Yahweh has blessed me hitherto?' 15. And Joshua said to them, 'If thou be a great people, get thee up to the forest and cut down for thyself there, since the hill country of Ephraim is too narrow for thee.' 16. And the house of Joseph said, 'The hill country is not enough for us: and all the Canaanites that dwell in the valley have chariots of iron, both they who are in Beth-shean and its dependencies and they who are in the valley of Jezreel.' 17. And Joshua spoke to the house of Joseph, to Ephraim and Manasseh, saying, 'Thou art a great people, and hast great strength: thou shalt not have one lot only: 18. but the hill country shall be thine; for though it is a forest thou shalt cut it down, and the goings out of it shall be thine: for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, for they have chariots of iron, for they are strong.'

XVIII. 2.¹ And there remained among the children of Israel seven tribes which had not yet divided their inheritance. 3. And Joshua said to the children of Israel, 'How long are you slack to go in to possess the land, which Yahweh has given to you? 4. Appoint for you three men for each tribe: and I will send them and they shall arise, and walk through the land and describe it according to their inheritance; and they shall come to me.

and Maachah, which were not subdued by the Manassites. When a later tradition put the conquest of Gilead back to the time of Moses, alterations, mutilations, and displacements of texts were inevitable.

¹ xviii. 2-6, 8-10. A late §, probably due to the editor who united the Elohist and Jahvist documents. It represents Joshua as allotting the remaining divisions of the conquered land to seven tribes. The 'Priestly Writer' expands this into the theory that Joshua and Eleazar, the high priest, allotted their territory to all the tribes who settled west of Jordan (Josh. xiv. 1-5). Ver. 7 is clearly by the Deuteronomist, and probably the phrases 'Yahweh, the God of your fathers,' 'Yahweh your God' (vv. 3, 6) have been amplified by him. The mention of Shiloh (vv. 8, 9, 10) is probably due to the final editor who wished to harmonise the account here with that of the 'Priestly Writer.' Note that in this § the word for 'tribe' is *shevet*, not *matteh*, as in the 'Priestly Writer.'

5. And they shall divide it into seven portions : Judah shall abide in his territory on the south, and the house of Joseph shall abide in their territory on the north. 6. And you shall describe the land into seven portions and bring [the description] hither to me, and I will cast lots for you here before Yahweh.' 8. And the men arose and went : and Joshua charged those that went to describe the land, saying, 'Go and walk through the land and describe it, and come again to me and I will cast lots for you before Yahweh.' 9. And the men went and passed through the land, and described it according to cities in seven portions in a book, and came to Joshua at the camp. 10.* And Joshua cast lots for them before Yahweh.

XIX.¹ 1.* And the second lot came out for Simeon. . . . 8.* And all the villages that were round about these cities to Baalath-beer, Ramah of the south. 9. Out of the part of the children of Judah was the inheritance of the children of Simeon, for the portion of the children of Judah was too much for them : therefore the children of Simeon had inheritance in the midst of their inheritance.

10.* And the third lot came up for the children of Zebulun. . . . 15. And Kattath and Nahalal and Shimron and Idalah and Beth-lehem : twelve cities with their villages.

17.* The fourth lot came out for Issachar. 25. And

¹ xix. 1-46. The fragments which follow from this chapter are the continuation of xviii. 2-6, 8-10 in the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' The chapter as a whole is by the 'Priestly Writer.' But (1) we find plain traces of double authorship in the headings of the divisions : *e.g.* 'the second lot came out for Simeon, for the tribe of the children of Simeon,' and so throughout. (2) The use of ordinal for cardinal numbers (*e.g.* 'third lot' for 'lot three') is contrary to the use of the 'Priestly Writer.' (3) The names of towns often break the connection (see *e.g.*, 25 where we expect boundaries, not a list of towns) : in some cases these names cannot come from the 'Priestly Writer,' for in ver. 41 cities are reckoned to Dan which that author (xv.-xxi.) counts with Judah. On the other hand, to give an account of the cities occupied by their tribes, instead of describing them by the boundaries of their territory, exactly corresponds to the plan of the 'Oldest Book,' as stated in xviii. 9.

their territory was Helkath and Hali and Beten and Achshaph, 26.^a and Alammelech and Amad and Mishal, 28. and Ebron and Rehob and Hammon and Kanah, as far as great Zidon, 30. and Ummah and Aphek and Rehob, twenty-two cities with their villages.

32. The sixth lot came out for the children of Naphthali. . . .

35. And the fenced cities were Ziddim, Zer and Hammath, Rak-kath and Chinnereth, 36. and Adamah and Ramah and Hazor, 37. and Kedesh and Edrei and En-Hazor, and Iron and Migdalel, Horem and Bethanath and Beth-shemesh, nineteen cities with their villages.

40. The seventh lot came out for the children of Dan. 41. And the territory of their inheritance was Zorah and Eshtaol and Ir-shemesh, 42. and Shaalabbin and Aijalon and Ithlah, 43. and Elon and Timnah and Ekron, 44. and Eltekeh and Gibbethon and Baalath, 45. and Jehud and Bene-berak and Gath-rimmon, 46. and Me-jarkon and Rakkon with the territory over against Joppa. . . .

. . . . 47.¹ But the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the hill country, for they would not suffer them to come

¹ 47. Of this antique fragment we have again another recension in Judges i. 34, and a comparison of the LXX. shows that originally the two recensions resembled each much more closely than they do in the received Hebrew text. Budde has restored the original sequence by uniting Judges i. 34 to Joshua xix. 47^a (in the LXX.), Joshua 47^b and Judges i. 35 (comp. the continuation of Joshua 47^b in the LXX.). The fragment belongs to the Jahvist. Compare 'contrived to dwell' with Joshua xvii. 12, 'became tributary' with Joshua xvii. 10, etc. Only the name 'Amorite' must have been, for some unknown reason, substituted for 'Canaanite.' The account here given is, as Budde says, credibility itself. None of the tribes were completely successful against the Canaanites. Joseph and Zebulun had to leave Canaanites dwelling in their midst (Judges i. 27-30). Asher and Naphtali dwelt in the midst of the Canaanites (Judges i. 30-33), i.e. they were in the minority. Dan was completely hemmed in by the enemy, and was obliged to seek new territory in the far north. Judges xiii. *seq.*, xvii. *seq.* abundantly illustrate and confirm the text before us. Lesham is a lengthened form of Laish as 'Ētam of 'Ait, 'Ēnam of 'Ain (see Wellhausen, *De Gentibus et Familiis Judaicis*, p. 37.)

down to the valley, and they made their territory too narrow for them. So the children of Dan went up and fought against Lesham and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called Lesham Dan, after the name of Dan their father. But the Amorites contrived to dwell in mount Heres, and Aijalon, and Shaalbim: yet the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed, so that they became tributary.'

. . . . 49.¹ So they went to take possession of the land according to their territory, and the children of Israel gave an inheritance to Joshua the son of Nun in the midst of them: 50. according to the word of Yahweh they gave him the city which he asked, Timnath-serah in the hill country of Ephraim, and he built the city and dwelt in it.

XXIV. 1.² *And Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to*

¹ 49, 50. These verses interrupt the context, which is by the 'Priestly Writer,' and on the other hand bear no marks of the Deuteronomical style. At the beginning of 49 the LXX. reading has been adopted.

² xxiv. This chapter belongs in substance to the Elohist, and is assigned to him by Nöldeke, Hollenberg, Wellhausen, Dillmann, Kuenen, etc., and this for cogent reasons. It is the Elohist who speaks of the sanctuary at Shechem and the tree which grew in it (Gen. xxxv. 4, and here, e.g. 1 and 25). This sympathy with the old Bamah or 'high place' would have been offensive at a later stage of Hebrew development, and it is significant that in vv. 1 and 25 the LXX. have altered 'Shechem' into Shiloh which was sanctified according to the 'Priestly Writer' by the presence of the ark and tabernacle (Joshua xviii. 1-10). The service of other gods attributed here (2, 14 *seq.*) to the family of Abraham tallies with the statements of the Elohist (Gen. xxxi. 19, 53; xxxv. 4). The burial of Joseph's bones at Shechem (ver. 32) is the natural and necessary completion of the Elohist legend in Gen. l. 25; Exod. xiii. 19. Further, the language is that of the Elohist. We have Elohims in ver. 1, also Elohims construed with the plural (here a plural adjective) as elsewhere in the Elohist document (ver. 19: comp. Gen. xx. 13, xxxv. 7); 'strange gods' (ver. 23: comp. Gen. xxxv. 2): 'Not with thy sword or with thy bow' (a phrase used perhaps by the Elohist, if, as most critics think, Gen. xlviii. 22 be his), 'set them a statute and an ordinance' (ver. 25, comp. the Elohist, Exod. xv. 25), the use of 'Amorite' for the original inhabitants of Palestine (as elsewhere in the Elohist). The chapter has passed through the hands of a Deuteronomical editor who has amplified it in his rhetorical manner. Ver. 31 is wholly his (the Hebrew

Shechem, and they presented themselves before God. 2. And Joshua said to all the people, 'Thus says Yahweh, Your fathers dwell of old beyond the river [Euphrates], Terah the father of Abraham and the father of Nahor: and they served other gods. 3. And I took your father Abraham from beyond the river and led him through all the land,¹ and multiplied his seed and gave him Isaac. 4. And I gave to Isaac Jacob and Esau, and I gave to Esau mount Seir to possess it: and Jacob and his children went down to Egypt. 5. And I sent Moses and Aaron, and I plagued the Egyptians with the signs which I did among them:² and afterwards I brought you out 6. from Egypt, and you came to the sea. 7. And [God] put darkness between you and the Egyptians, and brought the sea upon them and covered them; and your eyes saw what I did to the Egyptians: and you dwelt in the wilderness many days. 8. And I brought you into the land of the Amorites who dwell beyond Jordan, and they

words translated 'outlived,' literally 'lengthened their days after,' are adapted from Deut. xiv. 26: 'the work of Yahweh' occurs also Deut. iii. 24, xi. 3, 7: 'had known' in the sense of 'had experienced' in Deut. xi. 28; xiii. 3, 7, 14; xxviii. 33, 36, 64). It recurs in Judges ii. 7, and contains the point of view from which the Deuteronomist regarded all the history of Israel. In ver. 1 the words, 'and called for the elders of Israel and for their heads and for their judges and their officers,' are also Deuteronomical (comp. Deut. xxix. 9; Josh. xxiii. 2): so too are the words 'I would not hearken to Balaam' (comp. Deut. xxiii. 6), and the phrases 'God of Israel,' 'destroyed them from before you' (ver. 8, comp. Deut. ii. 21, etc.), 'servant of Yahweh' (ver. 29, comp. Deut. xxxiv. 5). A still later hand has made additions in vv. 6 and 7, and has corrected Joshua's statement that God brought the people whom he is addressing out of Egypt by adding, 'I brought your fathers out of Egypt.' The same hand has inserted details relating to the Exodus, and taken from our present complex text in the book of Exodus. The list of nations in ver. 11 is also a late interpolation. It is meaningless in the context and inconsistent with the language of the Elohist, who calls all the inhabitants of Palestine 'Amorites.' Consequently 'all the peoples' in ver. 18, must likewise be an interpolation. Note that it is just when linguistic signs point to interpolation, that we are able to cut out the words, not only without injury to the text, but to the manifest improvement of the sense. See e.g. ver. 18.

¹ 'All the land.' Hebrew has 'all the land of Canaan,' the two last words being omitted in LXX.

² 'With the signs that I did among them.' So LXX.

fought with you, and I gave them into your hand, and you possessed their land. 9. *Then Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab, arose and fought against Israel, and he sent and called Balaam the son of Beor to curse you.* 10. *But he blessed you still, and I delivered you out of his hand.* 11. *And you went over Jordan and came to Jericho, and the men of Jericho fought against you, and I delivered them into your hand.* 12. *And I sent the hornet before you, which drove them out before you, [namely,] the twelve¹ kings of the Amorites, not with thy sword and not with thy bow.* 14. *Now therefore fear Yahweh, and serve him in sincerity and truth, and put away the gods whom your fathers served beyond the river [Euphrates], and in Egypt, and serve Yahweh.* 15. *And if it seem evil to you to serve Yahweh, do you choose this day whom you will serve, whether the gods whom your fathers served that were beyond the river [Euphrates], or the gods of the Amorites in whose land you dwell, but as for me and my house we will serve Yahweh.'* 16. *And the people answered and said, 'Far be it from us that we should forsake Yahweh to serve other gods: 17. nay, Yahweh is our God, who brought us and our fathers up out of the land of Egypt,² and preserved us in all the way wherein we went, and among all the peoples through the midst of whom we passed; 18. and Yahweh drove out before us the Amorites who dwelt in the land: therefore we also will serve Yahweh, for he is our God.'* 19. *And Joshua said to the people, 'You cannot serve Yahweh, for he is³ a holy God,*

¹ 'The twelve kings.' So LXX. The Hebrew has corrected this statement, which is inconsistent with the history given from other sources in the Hexateuch, into 'two kings,' meaning Sihon and Og. The corrector forgot that the verse refers to the fortune of the Israelites west of the Jordan, and he has left a statement wholly inconsistent with the previous history, as given in the book of Joshua.

² 'Out of the land of Egypt.' So LXX. The Hebrew text has added, 'from the house of bondage, and that did those great signs in our sight.'

³ 'You cannot serve Yahweh, for he is.' Probably, as Dillmann thinks, some words have fallen out here, such as 'you cannot serve Yahweh and other gods, for he is a holy God,' etc. The original meaning of the Hebrew word for 'holy,' is 'that which is cut off,' 'separate from common use.' See Baudissin, *Stud. Sem. Religionsgesch.*, ii. *passim*, but especially 19-40.

he is a jealous God: he will not forgive your transgression or your sins. 20. *If you forsake Yahweh and serve strange gods, then he will turn and do you evil and consume you, after that he has done you good.'* 21. *And the people said to Joshua, 'Nay, but we will serve Yahweh.'* 22. *And Joshua said to the people, 'You are witnesses against yourselves, that you have chosen you Yahweh to serve him.'*¹ 23. *Now therefore put away the strange gods that are among you, and incline your heart to Yahweh.'* 24. *And the people said to Joshua, 'Yahweh our God will we serve, and to his voice will we hearken.'* 25. *So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day, and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem.*

26. *And Joshua took*² *a great stone and set it up there under the terebinth that was in the sanctuary of Yahweh.* 27. *And Joshua said to all the people, 'Behold, this stone shall be a witness against us, for it has heard all the words of Yahweh which he spoke to us: it shall be therefore a witness against you, lest you deny your God.'* 28. *So Joshua sent the people away every man to his inheritance.*

29. *And it came to pass after these things, that Joshua the son of Nun died, being a hundred and ten years old.* 30. *And they buried him in the territory of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which is in the hill country of Ephraim, on the north of the mountain of Gaash.* 32. *And the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, they buried in Shechem, in*

¹ 'Chosen Yahweh to serve him.' The Hebrew (not the LXX.) adds 'and they said, We are witnesses.' The addition is superfluous, and, without further addition, ungrammatical.

² 'And Joshua took,' etc. The verse, as it stands, begins with the clause, 'And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God.' These words are supposed by many to refer to the book formed by the union of our 'Oldest Book' with Deuteronomy, the whole being called 'the law of God' because the Deuteronomical code formed its chief part. In this case the clause would of course be an interpolation. See, however, Kuenen, § 8, 16. He believes that the words come from the Elohist, and refer to a 'book of law' otherwise unknown.

*the piece of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor the futher of Shechem for a hundred kesilahs, and gave it to Joseph for his portion.*¹ 34. *And Eleazar the son of Aaron died, and they buried him in the hill of Phinehas his son, which was given him in the hill country of Ephraim.*

¹ 'Gave it to Joseph for his portion.' So LXX.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".





3 2044 054 108 147

The borrower must return this item on or before the last date stamped below. If another user places a recall for this item, the borrower will be notified of the need for an earlier return.

*Non-receipt of overdue notices does **not** exempt the borrower from overdue fines.*

Andover-Harvard Theological Library Cambridge, MA 02138 617-495-5788
--

Please handle with care.
Thank you for helping to preserve
library collections at Harvard.









3 2044 054 108 147

The borrower must return this item on or before the last date stamped below. If another user places a recall for this item, the borrower will be notified of the need for an earlier return.

*Non-receipt of overdue notices does **not** exempt the borrower from overdue fines.*

<p>Andover-Harvard Theological Library Cambridge, MA 02138 617-495-5788</p>
--

Please handle with care.
Thank you for helping to preserve
library collections at Harvard.

